



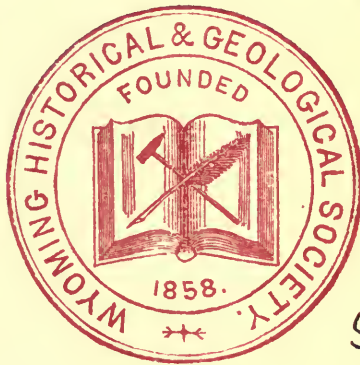
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THOMAS WRIGHT.
1748—1820.

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PROCEEDINGS
AND
COLLECTIONS
OF THE
WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.



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1901

VOLUME V.

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1900.

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PRINTED BY E. B. YORDY & Co.,
Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

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WILLIAM REYNOLDS RICKETTS,
MISS HANNAH PACKARD JAMES,
Publishing Committee.

PREFACE.

Agreeably to the promise made by the Publishing Committee in Volume Four of the Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, to issue a similar volume annually, the Proceedings for 1898 and 1899 are herewith presented to the members of the Society.

It has been our purpose to make each volume of Proceedings equally rich in scientific as well as historical data. Especial attention is called to the three Geological papers by Dr. Corss, and to the very rich catalogue of Palæozoic Fossils of the Lacoe Collection. We are promised as valuable material for the volume to be issued in 1901.

During the present year the Committee will issue, for public use, a full catalogue of the Geological Library of the Society, containing over 1000 titles. Attention is especially called to the treasures of the Society in its Geological cabinets, which are open to the public daily.

The thanks of the Committee are due to the generosity of Hon. Charles A. Miner for the illustrations which enrich his valuable paper on "The Early Grist-Mills of the Wyoming Valley," all of which, except the few recognized as from Pearce's Annals, and one kindly loaned by Mr. W. H. Richardson, of the Miller's review, have been given at much expense by Mr. Miner.

The entire work of editing the present volume having fallen on the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, he desires to assume all responsibility for any errors that may be discovered.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

The Society will be glad to receive any copies of its Publications that members may be willing to spare, especially early issues.

PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS
OF THE
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

Volume V.

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

1900.

PROCEEDINGS.

Stated Meeting, April 15, 1898.

Judge Woodward, the President, in the chair.

The minutes of the February meeting were read and approved.

The transfer of the following members to the life membership list was approved: Rev. N. G. Parke, D. D., Miss Jane A. Shoemaker, Mr. Charles J. Shoemaker, Mrs. Esther Shoemaker Norris, Mrs. Kate Pettebone Dickson.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the life membership list numbered 58, with 12 promised additions.

The President announced the speaker of the evening, O. J. Harvey, Esq., who, at the request of the Trustees, had consented to read a chapter from his unpublished History of Wilkes-Barre, on the subject of the "Laying Out and Naming of Wilkes-Barre." Mr. Harvey's paper was rich in original matter, unknown to the historians of Wyoming, and received close attention for an hour. On motion of Dr. Johnson, the thanks of the Society were unanimously voted to Mr. Harvey. After interesting remarks from several members, the Society adjourned at 9.30.

Quarterly Meeting, May 12, 1898.

President Woodward in the chair.

The minutes of the preceding meeting and of the meeting of the 10th day of February, 1898, were read and approved.

In a short speech the President introduced General W. H. H. Davis, of Doylestown, Pa., the speaker of the evening.

The subject of the General's address was "Some Men I Have Met and Things I Have Seen." He gave interesting reminiscences of General Cushing, Henry M. Stanley, Presidents Pierce and Arthur, Generals Scott and Taylor, Dr. Evans, of Paris, and others.

A vote of thanks was tendered to General Davis for his admirable address. On motion, the meeting adjourned.

Stated Meeting, October 21, 1898.

The President, Judge Woodward, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

A list of the contributions to the Society, since the last meeting, was read, and a vote of thanks was extended to the several donors.

The following persons were elected to membership: Dr. R. L. Wadhams (Life member), Mrs. Isabella W. Bowman, Dr. C. W. Spayd.

A fine collection of relics of the Spanish-American war, loaned by Joseph W. Graeme, Naval Cadet, of the U. S. battle-ship Iowa, was exhibited.

Mr. W. E. Woodruff, Historiographer, read biographical sketches of Isaac Long and Capt. L. D. Stearns, deceased members of the Society. In this connection Mr. Hayden announced the interesting fact that the morning after the fire at St. Stephen's Church, Mr. Long sent the Rector a check for \$200.

Dr. Johnson, by request, gave some account of his visit to the Omaha Exposition, whither he had gone as a Commissioner of the State of Pennsylvania. He spoke in an interesting way of the fine exhibition, the poor accommodations and restaurants, the Indian Congress, Geronimo (Indian Chief), and the Pennsylvania Club of Omaha. He was given a vote of thanks.

On motion, the Society adjourned.

Quarterly Meeting, December 16, 1898.

Vice President, Rev. Dr. Henry L. Jones, in the chair.

The Historiographer, W. E. Woodruff, Esq., read a biographical sketch of Col. Samuel H. Sturdevant, deceased, after which a portrait of Col. Sturdevant was presented to the Society in

the name of his daughter, Miss E. U. Sturdevant, and a vote of thanks was extended.

The Hon. Charles A. Miner, who was expected to read before the Society his paper entitled the "Old Mills of Wyoming Valley from 1772 to 1898," being ill, his son, Col. Asher Miner, was introduced, and read part of his father's paper. Several illustrations of the subject were also exhibited. On motion of the Rev. Mr. Hayden, a vote of thanks for his exhaustive and interesting paper was extended to Mr. Miner, and the paper referred to the Publishing Committee.

A vote of thanks was also extended to Dr. L. I. Shoemaker for the portrait of his father, Hon. L. D. Shoemaker, Vice President of the Society from 1890 to 1894.

On motion, the Society adjourned.

Annual Meeting, February 10, 1899.

President, Hon. Stanley Woodward, in the chair.

After prayer by Rev. Mr. Hayden, the Secretary read the minutes of the meetings of October 21 and December 16, 1898, which, on motion, were approved.

The election of officers being in order the following persons were nominated and elected for the ensuing year :

President, Hon. Stanley Woodward.

Vice Presidents, Capt. Calvin Parsons, Rev. Dr. H. L. Jones, Col. G. Murray Reynolds, Rev. Dr. F. B. Hodge.

Trustees, Hon. Charles A. Miner, Mr. Edward Welles, Mr. S. L. Brown, Mr. Richard Sharpe, Mr. Andrew F. Derr.

Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Recording Secretary, Mr. Sidney R. Miner.

Treasurer, Dr. F. C. Johnson.

Librarian, Hon. J. R. Wright.

Assistant Librarian, Rev. H. E. Hayden.

Curators—Archæology, Hon. J. R. Wright.

Numismatics, Rev. H. E. Hayden.

Geology, Mr. W. R. Ricketts.

Paleontology—Mr. R. D. Lacoe.

Historiographer, Mr. W. E. Woodruff.

Meteorologist, Rev. Dr. F. B. Hodge.

The Treasurer, Dr. F. C. Johnson, read his report for the past year. It was, on motion, approved and referred to the Publishing Committee.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Mr. Hayden, was read, accepted with thanks and referred to the Publishing Committee.

The following candidates for membership were elected :

Resident, Edward Welles, Jr., Mrs. Dora Long, J. E. Parrish, Mrs. Mary Slocum Butler Ayres, George Woodward, M. D., Otis Lincoln, William G. Eno, Miss Esther S. Stearns, Percy R. Thomas, Thomas K. Sturdevant, Harrison Wright, 3d. Of these, Edward Welles, Jr., Dr. George Woodward, Esther S. Stearns and Harrison Wright, 3d, were transferred to the Life Membership list.

The President introduced the speaker of the evening, Dr. William H. Egle, who read an interesting paper on "The Buckshot War in Pennsylvania in 1835."

A vote of thanks for the address was extended to Dr. Egle. On motion, the meeting was adjourned.

Stated Meeting, April 14, 1899.

In the absence of the President and Vice Presidents the meeting was called to order by the Corresponding Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Hayden.

Gen. Henry M. Cist, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was elected a Corresponding Member. Major C. A. Parsons, E. S. Loop, and Dr. Charles H. Miner, were transferred to the Life Membership list.

Hon. J. Ridgway Wright then gave a very interesting account of his "Trip to Honduras in 1898," illustrated by stereopticon views. Mr. Harry R. Deitrick, who also made the slides, operated the lantern.

A vote of thanks was passed to Major Wright and Mr. Deitrick for their respective parts in the entertainment.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

Quarterly Meeting, October 12, 1899.

Rev. Dr. Henry L. Jones, Vice President, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Hayden, Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a valuable donation by Mr. R. D. Lacoe, of Palæozoic Fossils, and a portrait of the late Captain L. D. Stearns, deceased, from

Major and Mrs. I. A. Stearns. A vote of thanks was passed by the Society for both donations.

Miss Anne Dorrance was elected a Resident member, the Rev. David Craft, D. D., of Tioga, Pa., a Corresponding member, and the Rev. Edwin Griffin Porter, A. M., President of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, of Boston, an Honorary member, the ballot of the Society being, on motion, cast by the Secretary, for each of the nominees.

The speaker of the evening, Dr. Frederick Corss, was then introduced and delivered a very interesting address on "Buried Valleys and Pot Holes of the Susquehanna."

On motion, the thanks of the Society were tendered to the speaker, and the paper referred to the Publishing Committee. A general discussion followed, and at its close Mr. Hayden read portions of an interesting anonymous paper on the subject of "Harvey's Lake."

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

Stated Meeting, November 17, 1899.

Vice President, Rev. Dr. Henry L. Jones, presided.

Prof. C. O. Thurston, of the Wyoming Seminary, was elected to membership.

The Chairman then introduced Mr. William Abbatt, of New York city, who delivered a very instructive address on "The Story of Arnold and André," accompanied by stereopticon views. During the lecture four members of the 9th Regiment Drum Corps repeated the dirge which was played at André's execution.

At the close of the address a vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

Annual Meeting, February 9, 1900.

President, Hon. Stanley Woodward, in the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. H. L. Jones.

The minutes of the two previous meetings were read and approved.

The President appointed Mrs. G. M. Reynolds, Col. E. B. Beaumont and Major O. A. Parsons a Committee to report nomination of officers for the coming year.

The following applications for Resident Membership, approved by the Trustees, were presented and unanimously elected :

Miss Lucy W. Abbott (Life), Miss Martha Sharpe (Life), Dr. Granville T. Matlack, John F. Shea, Esq., Miss Elizabeth S. Loveland, Mrs. F. D. L. Wadhams, Rev. Ferdinand von Krug, D. D., Mr. E. T. Long, Mr. J. H. Fisher, Scranton ; and Mrs. William P. Ryman.

On motion, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot.

The following persons were nominated for officers by the Committee and unanimously elected by the ballot of the Secretary :

President, Hon. Stanley Woodward.

Vice Presidents, Rev. Dr. H. L. Jones, Hon. J. Ridgway Wright, Col. G. Murray Reynolds, Rev. Dr. F. B. Hodge.

Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Recording Secretary, Sidney R. Miner.

Treasurer, Dr. Frederick C. Johnson.

Librarian, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Trustees, Hon. Charles A. Miner, Mr. Edward Welles, Mr. Samuel LeRoi Brown, Mr. Richard Sharpe, Mr. Andrew F. Derr.

Historiographer, Mr. Wesley E. Woodruff.

Meteorologist, Rev. Dr. F. B. Hodge.

Curators—Archæology, Hon. J. Ridgway Wright.

Paleontology, Prof. J. F. Welter.

Mineralogy, Mr. William Reynolds Ricketts.

Numismatics, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

On motion of Mr. Welter, it was resolved that the Librarian shall be empowered to appoint an Acting Assistant Librarian for the ensuing year.

The Treasurer, Dr. F. C. Johnson, read his report, which, on motion of the Corresponding Secretary, was received and referred to the Publishing Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Mr. Hayden, read his report, which was, on motion of Col. E. B. Beaumont, received and referred to the Publishing Committee, and a vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Hayden for the work of the past year.

Rev. Mr. Hayden reports that the number of Life Members had increased to 81, with five to be added this Spring. Resident Members, 216.

The Rev. Dr. Jones offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we record, with sorrow, the death of Calvin Parsons, one of the oldest members of this Society, for four years

its President, for twelve years one of its Vice Presidents. We have sweet remembrances of his kindly heart, genial presence and loving interest in all efforts to preserve the historical treasures of the Wyoming Valley. His uniform gentleness and courtesy, his strict integrity and conscientious devotion to duty are a precious heritage to the community in which he lived.

Rev. Mr. Hayden offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary be requested to repeat to Mr. R. D. Lacoe the sincere thanks of this Society for the valuable collection of Palæozoic Fossils he has so generously presented to us, and to express to him how highly we appreciate his kindness to this Society in arranging its collections, and by his many gifts, and in his sixteen years of continued service as Curator of Paleontology.

The Secretary also offered a resolution of thanks to the various contributors to this Society for the past year, which was unanimously adopted.

Col. G. Murray Reynolds read a brief notice of Rev. Edward Griffin Porter, M. A., who was to have addressed the Society this evening. The notice was from the *Boston Transcript*.

Remarks were made eulogistic of Mr. Porter by Rev. Mr. Hayden, Dr. F. C. Johnson and Rev. Dr. Scovill, of Stamford, Conn., who had known him in college, and intimately in later life.

The Rev. Mr. Hayden offered the following motion, which was unanimously adopted by a rising vote :

"It is with the most profound sorrow that this Society has learned of the sudden death of the Rev. Edward Griffin Porter, M. A., President of the New England Historical-Genealogical Society, and an Honorary member of this Society, who was to have delivered before us to-night the annual address. Therefore it is

"Resolved, That, in honor of his memory, this Society do now adjourn, without further business, and that the Corresponding Secretary be requested to communicate this action to the family of the deceased, with suitable expressions of our deep sympathy with them in this very sad bereavement, and of our appreciation of the great loss that has been sustained by them, and by the many friends and associates of the Rev. Mr. Porter."

The Rev. Dr. Scovill addressed the Society briefly, relative to his college associations with both Mr. Porter and President Woodward.

On motion, the Society adjourned at 9 p. m.

REPORTS.

Report of the Corresponding Secretary for 1898.

To the President and Members of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society:

GENTLEMEN—In presenting my annual report it is with sincere pleasure that I announce continued advancement and substantial improvement in all the departments of the Society. During the year ending to-day there have been four meetings of the Society with the usual presentation of historical papers. At the annual meeting February 11, 1898, Dr. Ethelbert D. Warfield, J.L. D., President of Lafayette College, read before the Society an admirable paper on the "Battle of King's Mountain," 1780. At the meeting in April, O. J. Harvey, Esq., of this city, at the special request of the Trustees, read an exceedingly interesting chapter from his forthcoming "History of Wilkes-Barre," entitled "The Laying Out and Naming of Wilkes-Barre." The October meeting was made interesting by most excellent sketches of our late members, Mr. Isaac Long and Captain Lazarus Denison Stearns, from the pen of the Historiographer, Mr. Wesley E. Woodruff, and an informal talk by Dr. F. C. Johnson, one of the Commissioners from Pennsylvania, on the Omaha Exposition. The December meeting was the occasion of the reading, by Col. Asher Miner, of an exhaustive and unusually valuable paper on the "Old Mills of the Wyoming Valley" from the pen of the Hon. Charles A. Miner, whose familiarity with the subject goes without saying. The Biographical Sketches, and Mr. Miner's paper, will all appear in the publications of the Society during the present year.

We are promised some interesting papers for the coming year, beginning with the address by our Honorary member, Dr. W. H. Egle, this evening. In April another local paper by Dr. F. C. Johnson, and one on a geological subject by Dr. Frederick Corss. In May, Gen. W. H. H. Davis of Bucks county will address us on a subject yet to be announced. Later in the year other speakers will be with us at our meetings. During the latter part of the past year the Publication Committee issued part 1 of Vol. 4 of the Proceedings of the Society, entitled a "Memorial of Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., late President of this Society," an issue that, for its careful preparation and its typography, is a matter of just pride to the Society. This includes Mr. Reynolds' History of the Presbyterian Church, Wilkes-Barre, also issued separately. Part 2 of Vol. 4 is now in the printer's hands and will issue in the spring. It will be full of interest, and will contain, in addition to historical papers, the names of every elective officer since the beginning of the Society, with full lists of members and contributors.

The Librarian reports that the Library of the Society, which numbered over 13,000 volumes at the last report, has been increased by the addition of 500 bound and 600 unbound volumes and pamphlets. This increase, unlike that of 1897, which numbered 1,500, is all gain to the library. The additions noted in the last report included many duplicates, ten large sacks of which we gave to the Tioga Point Historical Society at Athens, Pennsylvania. Of the 1,100 additions to the library in the past year nearly 100 were added by purchase, 300 were additions to the public depository library from the United States Government, 85 pieces were given by the Massachusetts State Library, 34 volumes and pamphlets were donations from Mr. John W. Jordan of the

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and a corresponding member of this Society. Three years ago there were not over 30 volumes of genealogy in the library, where there are now over 300, and these are in continual use by visitors. The number of bound volumes of newspapers reported last year in the library was 509; this number has been increased until we are now able to report over 625 volumes of newspapers, including files of the Wilkes-Barre *Times*, the Nanticoke *Tribune*, and the Plymouth *Star*. Also two volumes of *The New Yorker*, Horace Greeley's first newspaper venture, presented by our corresponding member, F. W. Halsey. From our honorary member Dr. W. H. Egle, to whom we are always largely indebted for kindnesses, we have received the several publications of the State for 1897. What the result of the change in State Librarians may be to us, is not yet known. This Society, through the influence of Messrs. Dana, Wright and Reynolds, secured the passage by the State Legislature of a resolution supplying every Historical Society in the State with all the publications of the State annually, but by some mistake the resolution did not specify precisely whose duty it should be to distribute these publications, so that it has been a dead letter ever since its passage. Dr. Egle, however, has generously supplied our need in that direction, and doubtless our Senator, Hon. W. J. Scott, will do so during his tenure of office.

It is also a pleasure to report seven additions to our portrait gallery of deceased members, *i. e.*, Dr. Edward R. Mayer, late a Vice President of the Society, from Mrs. Mayer; Hon. Eckley B. Cox, late a Vice President of the Society, from Alexander B. Cox, Esq.; Mr. Lewis C. Paine, also a Vice President, from Miss Paine; Hon. L. D. Shoemaker, also a Vice President, from Dr. L. I. Shoemaker; Col. Samuel H. Sturdevant, member, from Miss Sturdevant; Miss Emily I. Alexander, member, from her sister, Miss Carrie M. Alexander; and Hon. G. W. Woodward, from his son, our honored President. One addition to our picture gallery deserves especial notice. Mrs. Mary Butler Ayres has very generously consented to deposit for a few months with the Society her valuable portrait of Frances Slocum, the Lost Sister of Wyoming, whose well known history has done, perhaps, as much as the Massacre of Wyoming to make this lovely Valley famous. It hangs in the front hall where it can be seen on entering the building. There are in this county, in ancestral homes and elsewhere, many portraits of old settlers and prominent business men, factors in the development of the Valley and its enterprises, which, it is hoped, will some day find their way to this place. Some families have already arranged to deposit here permanently, in time, family portraits which might otherwise be lost, as was the portrait of Dr. Thomas W. Miner, which has disappeared entirely from sight during the past twenty years.

During the year the Corresponding Secretary has received 330 letters and communications from other societies and individuals, and has written 375 letters in reply. This does not, however, include the usual acknowledgment of over 1,200 donations and additions, and the distribution of the publications of the Society to members and other societies, which will make the outgoing mail of the Society reach over 2,000 pieces.

To Mr. John W. Jordan we are indebted for an artist's proof of Mr. Sartin's historic picture of Zeisberger Preaching to the Indians, which is here exhibited. And to Cadet Joseph Graeme, of the U. S. battleship Iowa, who was a participant in the destruction of the Spanish fleet under Cervera, we are indebted for the loan of his exceedingly valuable and interesting collection of Spanish relics from the Viscaya, the Christopher Colon and other vessels of Cervera's fleet.

During the past year the rooms of the Society have been opened, as usual, three afternoons in the week to the public. The attendance, including this

week, has been 2,803, an average of over 20 each opening day. During the late School Institute held in this city an invitation was given to the teachers to visit the rooms and an afternoon appointed for the purpose, with the result that 150 of the teachers availed themselves of the privilege.

The Treasurer's report has shown the present financial condition of the Society, but it does not cover that part which has not yet come under the Treasurer's notice officially. Since January 1, 1897, an earnest effort has been made to increase the invested funds of the Society. This can be done only in one or two ways, by gift, or by life memberships. In 1894 the invested fund was about \$8,000. It is to-day \$13,000. During the past two years the life memberships have been increased by forty-two, or \$4,200. Of these forty-two all have paid their fees of \$100 but nineteen, whose autographic subscriptions to the fees are as good as gold, but are not due until December 31, 1899. These, when paid in, will increase the invested funds of the Society to \$15,000 at five per cent. Convinced that we should have an endowment of not less than twenty thousand dollars, a further effort has been made to secure this additional amount of \$5,000, with the success that one gentleman has pledged himself to give \$1,000 towards that sum if four others will do likewise, the money to be given either in cash or in securities, and to be paid only when the entire sum is subscribed and the previously noted \$15,000 is paid in and invested—the five donors to have the privilege of naming the fund of \$1,000 they respectively give after their own name. This sum of \$20,000 will secure an income that will insure the care and enlargement of the Society's library and cabinet for the future. The Wright Fund has been invested and the interest is annually expended in the purchase of books, as the appended report shows. The Reynolds Fund has reached the sum of \$650, and is also invested to increase, by interest and the sale of publications, until it also reaches \$1,000. The Corresponding Secretary has also begun the Charles F. Ingham Memorial Fund, which has now reached the sum of \$50. This fund will be devoted to the scientific departments of the Society. As the creating of such funds, payment of life membership fees, and every effort to increase the endowment of this Society simply aids the Society to preserve the history of *your* individual life, and that of *your family* and *your homes*, the writer has not the slightest hesitancy in urging you to make such effort a success. Life membership relieves the payment of annual dues, and insures an after-death memorial, in that the money paid remains under your name a perpetual reminder of your act as well as a permanent aid to the preservation of the Society. An *annual* member may cease to pay his dues and drop from the rolls of the Society and appear no longer on its list of members, or he may die, and while his name still remains on the list of members it returns nothing to the Society. The life members, even after they have passed away, are still alive in the activities of the Society, as the annual income from their life membership fee makes them perpetual factors in the growth and success of the Society. Their influence lives after them. and when another generation of their name arises and becomes members of this association the deceased life-member is still an integral part of the corporation. The Trustees have long ago decided that a life membership fee may, if desired, cover two years arrears of dues, so that one who is not in arrear may pay his life membership fee in two installments of fifty dollars each, if within two years, thus making it of easier payment when so desired.

The founders of this Society may not have done wisely in naming this the Wyoming Historical and *Geological* Society, but while their wisdom has not yet been disproved, it has been the means of securing to the Society one of the finest geological and archaeological cabinets within the borders of this great geological State of Pennsylvania. We are located in the centre of the vast and

rich anthracite regions of America, where the carboniferous system covers an area of 200,000 square miles. The prosperity of this valley, and the entire northeastern portion of the State, is largely the result of the coal mining interests which have been developed therein. This fact should awaken thought as to the intimate connexion between Geology and History. It is this connexion that has made it necessary to have in this Society the very important departments, with their Curators, of Archaeology and History; of Paleontology, and of Mineralogy. Geology reveals the changes of the earth's history and the character of the animal life existent before the life of man, from the primary, or paleozoic, fossils showing the long extinct species, to remains identical with existent species, where Archaeology truly begins. The Archaean or Azoic period, the first period, of granitic or gneiss formations, in which are found few if any fossil remains, is followed by the Paleozoic, or ancient life period, after an interval of indefinite time. This Paleozoic period covers the Cambrian, Silurian, Devonian, and Carboniferous, or Coal, period, in which latter we are most deeply interested. In the Paleozoic period, as rich in fossils as the Azoic is barren, we find the most delicate forms of animal and insect life, many exquisite specimens of which we have in our valuable cabinet in the geological room. The importance of this period, in its remains, to the study of Archaeology cannot be overestimated. This Society in the past, when such scientific and historic minds as Drs. Ingham and Wright and Sheldon Reynolds were the animating spirits, was not unmindful of the value of Paleozoic remains to the true study of History. Hence those of us who are familiar with the publications of this Society, publications which have raised it to a very high level in the scientific as well as the historic world, will remember that one of the first publications was No. 5 of Vol. I, entitled "List of Paleozoic Fossil Insects of the United States and Canada," by Mr. R. D. Lacoe, the Curator of Paleontology in this Society. This publication has carried our name to the scientific Societies of Europe, as well as America. Among the most valued subsequent publications of the Society are Prof. Claypole's "Report on some of the Fossils from the Lower Coal Measures near Wilkes-Barre," read before us in 1884, describing some of the present treasures of our collection; also "Report of the Wyoming Valley Carboniferous Limestone Beds," by Ashburner, with descriptions of fossils in those beds by that eminent Paleontologist, Prof. Heilprin, of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science. These fossils are also in our collections; and these papers indicate the value and importance of such collections to a society such as this. This preamble is presented to you to lead up to the importance of another rich collection of Paleozoic fossils which this Society ought to possess, the donation of which depends on the interest excited by the subject among its members. Our eminent Curator, Mr. R. D. Lacoe, who is in charge of the department of Paleontology, and who had, a few years ago, one of the richest and rarest collections of Paleozoic fossil insects in America, presented the larger part of his collection to the Smithsonian Institute. I am assured that had this Society maintained the high standard of interest in the matter created by Drs. Ingham and Wright, and Mr. Reynolds, that magnificent collection would have come here to stay. Now, however, it has been diverted elsewhere. But there still remains in the hands of Mr. Lacoe a most valuable collection of Paleozoic Fossil animals from the New York and Illinois limestone beds, numbering several thousand specimens, which he is ready to donate to this Society whenever it shall provide room for the cabinets, and some one sufficiently interested in the study of these fossils to undertake the careful removal of the collection and arrangement of the several specimens, with a good promise that the collection will be enriched by this Society by exchange and purchase.

This offer of Mr. Lacoe should be instantly met by a hearty response and the collection be named after the generous donor.

The cabinet in the geological room, which was originally arranged with the greatest care and loving devotion by that coterie of kindred minds, Ingham, Wright and Lacoe, showing the crust of the earth, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, or object lesson in geology, has lately been much enriched by additions from Mr. Lacoe's cabinet of Paleozoic fossils. That exhibition has been already invaluable to the students of geology, illustrating in *fact* what is taught them in *theory*, and exhibited in books only by dotted sections, curved and straight lines, to show the various geological strata of the earth. Its necessity to a student is best illustrated by an incident that occurred in this city some years ago. When Mr. O'Brien was manager of the Electric Light Company of this city he was called upon by one whom he had known for years, and who had graduated with high honors well earned in a leading University in the School of Electricity. He asked for a position in the company and named his salary, which was no mean sum. Mr. O'Brien asked him, "Could you go to the corner of the street and set the dynamo for me to-day if I should ask you?" The young man promptly replied, "I could if you would *show me how*." Mr. O'Brien replied, "Yes, so could any one if I *show him how*. But did they not *show you how* at the University?" The student replied, "No, they *told us how*, but gave no *demonstration* of it."

It is not expected that colleges and universities will give students the practical knowledge that can be gained only by personal experience in life, but there is much that can be done only by the object lessons which selected cabinets, or selected specimens, can give. This Society should be to the students of our public and private schools such an object lesson in history, in geology, in archæology, by making its cabinets accessible, full and of practical use. To this end the classes in geology of the High School have been annually invited, and during the past year Mr. Welter of the High School has made frequent and valuable use of them for his pupils, who have made their visits here as a class, under his personal instruction. The Curator of Geology, Mr. William Reynolds Ricketts, has, during the year, given much of his spare time in indexing and assorting the geological collection so as to make it accessible to every one, and is making a card catalogue for that purpose. The writer has, during his past life, given some years to the study of geology and paleontology, and once had rich collections of both; but that was years ago, when youth and time were ready accessories. The pressing duties of later years has made it impossible to keep up such studies, and with the parting from his cabinets he found it necessary also to lay aside the special study of these delightful subjects, so that it is not easy on his part to do more than guide visitors to these rooms in the studies referred to. He cannot claim to be an instructor, or anything more than a helper, his spare time being devoted mainly to American History. We need an assistant Curator of Paleontology, to whom Mr. Lacoe will most gladly give all the aid in his power to make that department more perfect.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Corresponding Secretary.

Report of the Treasurer for the Year 1898.

RECEIPTS.

Balance, February 11, 1898,	\$ 452 88
Dues of Members,	1,020 00
Interest on Securities,	550 00
Transfer from Savings Account,	1,000 00
Total,	<u>\$3,022 88</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Salaries of Employees,	\$ 642 81
Publications,	111 75
Books and Cabinet,	435 00
Binding,	244 05
Harrison Wright Fund, Interest,	42 50
Addresses,	25 00
Repairs and Sundries,	73 46
Framing Pictures,	23 85
Printing and Stationery,	15 20
Postage and Revenue,	31 20
Water Company Bond,	1,000 00
	<u>\$2,644 82</u>
To Balance on hand,	378 06
Total,	<u>\$3,022 88</u>

RESOURCES.

Bonds, Wilkes-Barre Water Co.,	\$ 7,000 00
Bonds, Plymouth Bridge Co.,	5,000 00
	<u>\$12,000 00</u>
Savings Account, Anthracite Bank,	109 17
Interest, Anthracite Bank,	15 52
Life Membership Fees,	1,210 00
	<u>\$13,334 69</u>

F. C. JOHNSON,
Treasurer.

Report of the Corresponding Secretary for 1899.

To the President and Officers of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society :

GENTLEMEN—I have the honor of presenting to you my annual report for the year 1899, showing continued advancement and prosperity in the work of our Society. One year ago the Trustees, impressed with the growing demands of the public, decided that the financial condition of the Society justified the opening of the library and collections to the public daily, instead of tri-weekly, thus doubling the hours when the people of this section of the State could have access to the rooms. Hence, for the past year, the rooms have been opened every afternoon and two nights during each week. The result has been most gratifying—the attendance in 1899 reaching 4,400, as against 2,800 in 1898, when the rooms were opened tri-weekly.

The Library of the Society numbers fifteen thousand (15,000) volumes, and, with the Osterhout Free Library, gives the public access to nearly 45,000 volumes in the same immediate locality. These two libraries are, however, entirely separate and distinct although virtually under the same roof. It has been the rule with both institutions, during the past five years, to avoid duplicating books. Thus, this Society confines its book additions especially to American History and Geology, while the larger Osterhout Library covers all departments of literature. Then this Society being a Public Depository for Government publications, contains everything issued by the United States Government presses, which covers a very wide range of subjects bearing on the history of this country in all its departments. It frequently happens that students from other sections of the State, beyond the County of Luzerne, visit Wilkes-Barre for research, and the convenience of having two separate libraries of different character open daily must be apparent.

During the past year 1,050 bound, and 675 unbound volumes and pamphlets have been added to our store, of which number 1,200 and more have been actual additions to our library, the rest being duplicate volumes. Of this addition 100 have been by purchase, the rest by exchange or gift. Among the donations there are seventy-five volumes of newspapers, including forty-five bound volumes of the *Daily News-Dealer* and *Wilkes-Barre News*. Also sixteen volumes of the issues of our other dailies which have been supplied to us annually for years. Eight volumes of the *Berwick Independent*, with others of the *Dallas Post*, *Hazleton Sentinel*, *Plymouth Star*, etc., etc., our newspaper files now number over 700 bound volumes. From Hon. Charles A. Miner we have received 360 volumes of the Geological Survey of Pennsylvania, which have enabled us to complete several full sets of that valuable publication for sale. From the State Librarian we have also received twenty-five volumes of State documents, and many other gifts will be acknowledged in the next volume of our *Proceedings and Papers*. From the American Antiquarian Society, ten volumes; from General H. M. Cist, eighteen volumes; from Secretary of State, Pennsylvania, eleven volumes; from Major O. A. Parsons, seventy-five memorials of the Loyal Legion; from Mr. A. D. Dean, of Scranton, a manuscript sheet of Rev. John Miller, of Abington, Pa., with a copy of his marriage records from 1802 to 1857.

During the year as Corresponding Secretary I have received 450 communications from societies and individuals, and have written 400 in reply, all of which will be found copied in the letter book of the Society. I have also acknowledged the receipt of all the additions to the library and cabinets, have

mailed to members and others 400 copies of our last volume and other publications, and have sent out other mail to an aggregate of over 2,200 pieces.

Among the communications referred to, there is a letter from the Corresponding Secretary to the Hon. Secretary of War, dated October 17, 1898, asking the donation of a small piece of ordnance from those captured by our victorious fleet and army from the Spanish in Cuba and Puerto Rico. To this request the Hon. Secretary of War, in his reply, stated that "All the ordnance captured from the Spanish army in Cuba and Puerto Rico has not yet been returned to the United States, nor has any definite policy yet been formulated as to its disposition,"—showing that very probably the suggestion of this Society was the first of the kind received by the Secretary. When it was subsequently decided to distribute these pieces of ordnance to various sections of the country, the Secretary of War specified the city of Wilkes-Barre as the one locality in Pennsylvania that had asked for a cannon. But it was ordered by him that the cannon, when delivered, should be donated to the municipality. Of the captured cannon, five pieces were sent to this State to be thus distributed at the option of the Governor. The city of York zealously contended with Wilkes-Barre for one piece, but through the appeals of this Society from the President, Corresponding Secretary and other members—among them Hons. H. W. Palmer and W. J. Scott, Governor Stone donated the piece to the city of Wilkes-Barre. Then, notwithstanding the facts that this Society was so influential in securing this decision, and through its honored President and other officers, made formal application to the City Council for the care of the piece, the Property Committee, on the plea that "no one else had asked for it," gave the ordnance to the care of the Conyngham Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, totally ignoring, in its distribution and reception of the piece of cannon, this honored Society. With this experience the Corresponding Secretary finds very little incentive to undertake similar ventures for the benefit of the Society.

During the year past we have held five meetings for business and addresses. At the annual meeting, February 16, 1898, our honorary member, who is always so ready to aid us, Dr. William H. Egle, read before us his exhaustive and valuable paper on the "Buckshot War in Pennsylvania in 1838." He had previously read this paper before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which Society has since published it in their Magazine of History for July, 1898.

The second meeting of the year, held April 14th, will be remembered by the extremely interesting illustrated lecture of Hon. J. Ridgway Wright, on his "Trip to Honduras in 1898," with stereopticon views.

On the 12th of May the quarterly meeting was held and an address, full of historical reminiscences was delivered by Gen. W. H. H. Davis, one of our Corresponding Members, and a hero of two wars, on the subject "Some Men I Have Met, and Some Things I Have Seen."

At the quarterly meeting of October 13th, Dr. Frederick Corss continued his admirable and instructive papers on local Geology, taking for his subject "The Buried Valleys and Pot Holes of the Susquehanna," which, with his two earlier papers, will appear in our next volume of Proceedings this Spring. The last meeting of the year was held December 8th, when Mr. William Abbott, of New York City, addressed the Society on "The Story of Arnold and André," with stereopticon views, giving many new facts relating to the treason of Arnold and the capture and execution of the British spy, André.

To-night we had expected the pleasure of listening to the President of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Rev. Edward Griffin Porter, who visited our city last Fall and so charmed all who met him by his many graces of mind and character. But just as we were anticipating the very great

delight which his presence gave wherever he appeared, the sad news came to us of his death on Sunday last of pneumonia. He was a man of rare gifts of mind and character, possessing a love of nature, of study, of home and country which he improved by careful culture and extensive travel. All this, enriched by a most devout love of things divine, made him the centre of attraction in whatever circle he might be. For years he was the beloved pastor of the Congregational Church at the historic town of Lexington, Mass., retiring from the charge on account of ill health. We have missed a rare treat by his absence, but those who felt the power of his spiritual life, so unconsciously manifested in his conservation and daily walk, need no further assurance that the gentle spirit of the minister of God is in joy and felicity.

Of the additions to our cabinet, none, since the generous gift of General Ross, have equaled in scientific value the important donation by Mr. R. D. Lacoe of his collection of Paleozoic fossil animals mentioned in my last report. Mr. Lacoe has expended many years of time and much money in making this collection. The trustees authorized the purchase of a proper case for this collection, the cost of which was \$80. During the past Summer Prof. J. L. Welter, who has just been elected Curator of Paleontology, and the Corresponding Secretary, spent over a week in packing and removing this collection to these rooms, and have spent several weeks in unpacking and placing it properly in the cabinet which stands on the third floor of this building. This collection proper is opened only to students, but representative specimens of each species are placed in the long case in the geological room for public inspection. The collection contains over 4000 specimens covering 1012 species, and forms a treasure such as few public institutions in the United States possess. When these fossils are thoroughly classified and the list is printed in our next volume this Society will, with its large collection of minerals and coal fossils, be in better touch with the scientific societies of the country than ever before.

In referring to this gift in my report last year I stated that the collection of fossils from the Wyoming Valley carboniferous beds described in our second volume by Prof. Heilprin were in the possession of this Society. This, I find, was erroneous, as they have always been the property of our member, Mr. Christian H. Scharar of Scranton. Mr. Scharar has, however, generously consented to donate them to this Society, a case has been obtained for them, and it is the intention of the Curator and myself to secure them at the earliest moment.

The membership of the Society has been reduced during the past year by the death of two, the resignation of three, and the transfer of sixteen to the Life Membership list, but the election of twelve new members has again increased the number of resident members to 216. The Life Membership list is increased by adding to the list twenty subscribers, *i. e.*, Major Oliver A. Parsons, Mr. E. Sterling Loop, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, Dr. Charles H. Miner, George R. Bedford, Esq., Harrison Wright, third, Alexander Farnham, Esq., Thomas Darling, Esq., Mrs. J. Vaughn Darling, Miss Martha Bennet, Mr. William Loveland, Mr. Edwin H. Jones, Edward Welles, Jr., Mr. John A. Turner, Mr. Thomas K. Sturdevant, Mr. Percy R. Thomas, Mr. Robert P. Brodhead, Andrew H. McClintock, Esq., Miss Martha Sharpe, Miss Lucy W. Abbott. These, with those who have not yet paid the usual fee, have increased the Life Members to eighty-five.

It is my purpose, during the present year, to increase this number, if possible, to 100 Life Members. The invested funds of the Society, as reported by the Treasurer, are now \$13,500, with \$1400 still in hand to invest, which, with \$500 due in April, will make the full invested fund for the year 1900, \$15,400. The increase of this fund to \$20,000 which I had hoped to be

able to report at this meeting has not yet been effected, but the future is full of hope for the Society, and I doubt not that in time it will be realized. The work of the Society is becoming better known and better appreciated. The Rev. Mr. Porter, a man of rich experience in such matters, and president of one of the most eminently successful societies in the United States, when here last October, expressed himself greatly surprised at the work represented by our Society, and it was his own suggestion that his subject at this meeting was to cover largely the work of this Society in the past, and its rare opportunities for the future.

It was announced last year that the Society would annually issue a volume of proceedings. Volume IV was issued during the year 1898, attracting much attention and many complimentary notices. Volume V is now waiting for the printer and will issue before the Summer. Volume IV was entirely historical, but volume V will be divided between history and geology, and will prove as interesting as any previous volume. This Society has no lack of historical material for annual issues, and as the life of historical societies is estimated by their publications, there is no reason why this Society should not maintain the high standard among similar institutions which it has held for the past twenty years.

To our portrait gallery has been added the portrait of our late member, Capt. L. D. Stearns, who lost his life in the military service of his country as an officer of the Ninth Regiment, National Guard, during the War with Spain. This was presented by his father, Maj. I. A. Stearns. We will have on our walls this year portraits of Rev. Thomas P. Hunt, one of the earliest members of the Society; Hon. E. L. Dana, our first President, presented by his son; our late Presidents A. T. McClintock, LL. D., and Calvin Parsons, presented by their sons; William R. Maffet, a Life Member, with those of the late John C. Phelps, Life Member, Hon. Ziba Bennett, John Dorrance, and others.

During the year the Curator of Mineralogy, Mr. William R. Ricketts, has given much time to the catalogueing of the mineralogical cabinet, and Prof. J. L. Welter, the Curator of Palontology, has not only spent many hours in his department, but he has done what is especially desirable for our work, frequently brought his high school classes to these rooms to study the mineralogical specimens in connection with their school course.

The lack of room, and the fact that the subject is not kindred to the scope of our work, have made it necessary that the large and valuable Conchological collection of this Society should be packed away and not displayed. The Society, a few years ago, removed this subject from its work. This collection of shells will be sold to the highest bidder when it can be properly appraised and a purchaser found, and the money added to our permanent fund. This intention is mentioned here that any member of the Society who may hear of some institution desiring such a collection may aid us to dispose of it wisely. Archaeology and History, Mineralogy, Paleontology and Numismatics are the only subjects properly covered by the title of this association.

In conclusion I beg to ask that the members of this Society make some effort to familiarize themselves with our treasures and work by visiting these rooms more frequently. Although nearly 4500 visitors have registered themselves since the last annual meeting there are members of years' standing who have informed me that they have never been inside this building and do not know what this Society possesses. More personal interest on the part of members will greatly help our progress, and encourage those who are working to advance the life of the Society.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Corresponding Secretary.

Report of the Treasurer for the Year 1899.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand February 11, 1900,	\$ 378 06
Dues of Members,	1,115 42
Interest on Investments,	656 25
Total,	<u>\$2,149 73</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Salaries, Librarian and Assistant,	\$ 976 63
Janitor and Labor,	87 10
Publications,	128 25
Books,	200 00
Binding,	45 00
Interest on Wright and Reynolds Funds,	80 00
Addresses, &c.,	58 25
Framing Pictures,	9 45
Printing, Incidental,	6 50
Postage and Revenue,	12 00
Furniture,	7 80
Insurance on Library and Museum,	112 50
Repairs, Book Cases and Sundries,	78 08
	<u>\$1,801 56</u>
Balance on hand,	348 17
Total,	<u>\$2,149 73</u>

RESOURCES.

Bonds of Wilkes-Barre Water Co.,	\$ 7,000 00
" " Plymouth Bridge Co.,	5,000 00
" " Miner-Hillard Milling Co.,	1,500 00
" " Westmoreland Club,	100 00
	<u>\$13,600 00</u>
Savings Account Anthracite Bank,	1,127 70
Total,	<u>\$14,727 70</u>

F. C. JOHNSON,
Treasurer.

REPORTS.

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To the above account of the Society Resources should be added the following Special Funds placed in the Treasurer's hands since the annual meeting :

Sheldon Reynolds Fund, Anthracite Bank,	\$ 100 00
Charles F. Ingham Fund, Miners' Bank,	75 00
Life Membership Fees paid,	200 00
" " " due April, 1900,	400 00
	<hr/>
	\$ 775 00
Add Resources as above,	14,727 70
	<hr/>
Grand Total Resources,	\$15,502 70

SPECIAL FUNDS, (Included in above "Resources.")

HARRISON WRIGHT MEMORIAL FUND.

By Cash (invested at 5 per cent.),	\$1,000 00
Accrued interest	132 72
	<hr/>
	\$1,132 72
Expended for Books,	122 67
	<hr/>
Total,	\$1,010 05

SHELDON REYNOLDS MEMORIAL FUND.

By Cash (invested at 5 per cent.),	\$ 600 00
" Interest, Anthracite Bank,	51 05
" Sale of Publications, &c.,	48 95
	<hr/>
Total,	\$ 700 00

CHARLES F. INGHAM MEMORIAL FUND.

By Cash, Miners' Bank,	\$ 75 00
" Sale of Publications, &c.,	25 00
	<hr/>
Total,	\$ 100 00
Total Memorial Funds invested,	\$1,800 00

REV. JOHN WITHERSPOON, D. D.,

(SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.)

BY MRS. CHARLES E. RICE.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY FEBRUARY 12, 1897.

James Anthony Froude expresses this opinion : "It often seems to me as if history was like a child's box of letters, with which we can spell any name we please, we have only to pick out such letters as we want, arrange them as we like, and say nothing about those which do not suit our purpose." In the game in which we are about to engage some of the letters are lacking and must be supplied by conjectural additions and rational inferences. Although the regions of conjecture, and of the imagination, pertain rather to the poet than to the historian.

Kindly turn your attention in the direction of John Witherspoon—Patriot, Preacher, President of Princeton College, and Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Sometime before he could begin to shine in any of these capacities he was born on the fifth of February, 1722. A superficial encyclopediac reading would lead to the inference that John Witherspoon's terrestrial existence began in different localities, for it is variously stated that he was born at Yester, at Gifford, and at Haddington. We are all familiar with the bird's nesting exploits of the Eliza, Elizabeth, Betsey and Bess, who were apparently four distinct individuals, in reality one and the same person. The Witherspoon birth-place seems to be on a similar principle. Gifford is the village, Haddington the county, and Yester the parish. His father was the Rev. James Witherspoon, a clergyman of the church of Scotland, minister of the parish of Yester. His mother was a lineal descendant of the reformer John Knox, whose prayers Mary Queen of Scots "dreaded more than all

the armies of Cromwell." From father and mother he received the heritage of the "good name which is rather to be desired than riches."

There was also considerable landed estate in the family connection. We find no record of his childhood. It has not been possible to ascertain whether his intellectual powers were prematurely developed, or whether his early years were distinguished by any particular events. Sidney Smith said the "Scottish people cultivated the arts and sciences upon oatmeal." So much for the physical pabulum. With regard to the mental and spiritual training we may safely believe that the young descendant of John Knox, and a son of a Scottish minister of the gospel, was induced "to walk in the way in which he should go." We may be sure that it could not be written of him, as it was of Adonijah, that "his father had not displeased him at any time." For he lived at a period when the words of Solomon regarding the rod had a most literal and practical interpretation. To the youthful Caledonian, whose footsteps were thus guided in wisdom's ways, the path at first setting forth may not have seemed pleasant or peaceful. Nevertheless the success which came to him afterward may be regarded as fulfillment of the promise to those who "remember the commandments of God to do them."

We are authentically informed that the Rev. James Witherspoon was a godly man, and an accurate scholar. He took great pains with the education of his son John, who some one says was his youngest child. The father was made happy by the diligence of the son, and especially by his early resolution to dedicate his life to the service of God in the Christian church.

At the age of fourteen John Witherspoon entered Edinburgh University, where he soon made a reputation by the assiduity with which he applied himself to his studies. He continued in the university until he was twenty-one. Then

he was licensed to preach the gospel. He was invited to become his father's assistant in the parish of Yester, with the right of succession to the charge. At the same time he had a call to a place in the western part of Scotland called Beith. He preferred the latter invitation, and was ordained and settled with the universal approval of the congregation, who found him instructive and interesting in the pulpit, and faithful in the performance of all his parochial duties. About this time he married Miss Elizabeth Montgomery.

In a hymeneal poem addressed to Mrs. Gladstone, she was exhorted to "soothe in many a toil worn hour the noble heart which she had won." She was furthermore advised to "be a balmy breeze to him, a fountain singing at his side, his star whose light is never dim, a pole-star through the waste to guide."

Regarding Elizabeth Montgomery Witherspoon very little is told. We do not know from whom she was descended. From what is revealed it is affirmable that she was amiable and pious and altogether worthy. She became the mother of many children. Ten is estimated to have been the eventual number. We also have faith to believe that like Mrs. Gladstone she was able to "soothe, to be a balmy breeze, a pole-star, and at the same time a singing fountain." During the early years of her husband's residence at Beith, there occurred that disturbance known in history as the Scottish Rebellion. When, as Charles Dickens tells, "some infatuated people took up the Pretender's cause, as if the country had not, to its cost, had Stuarts enough, and many lives were sacrificed and much misery occasioned."

The reader of Johnson's encyclopedia may be led to believe that Witherspoon joined the Pretender's cause, for it says that he did. A more reliable statement seems to be that when the country in the neighborhood of Beith became alarmed at the approach of the rebels, the Rev. Mr. Witherspoon drew up a resolution which was signed by his parish-

ioners, in which they bound themselves to join the militia, and march with them to Stirling "for the support of their religious liberty and in defence of their only rightful sovereign, King George, against his enemies in the present rebellion." Having stimulated his people, Mr. Witherspoon assembled a company of them and marched at their head as far as Glasgow. There he was told that from the number of the king's troops as compared with those of the enemy, and the confidence reposed in them, the militia need go no further, and he received orders to return. But his zeal could not so easily be subdued. He went forward and was present as a spectator at the battle of Falkirk, January 17th, 1746. After that engagement the rebels "descended like wolves on the fold," and the pastor, Witherspoon, was taken prisoner, and conveyed to the castle of Donne. He was confined in a large dismal room in the highest part of the castle next the battlements. In one end of the room were two cells. In one of them were five members of the Edinburgh company of volunteers, and two citizens of Aberdeen, who had been taken for spies, and were to be hung. In the other cell were eight men, who, like himself, suffered the effects of "injudicious curiosity." Naturally the principal subject for meditation and conversation among them was some means of escape. One of the fellow prisoners, being of "diminutive size, got himself dressed in woman's attire and walked away carrying a tea kettle." The others proposed to make a rope of their blankets by which they might descend from the battlements to the ground on the side of the castle where there was no sentinel. The plan was agreed to by the Edinburgh volunteers and the two men from Aberdeen. John Witherspoon said he would go to the battlement and see what happened; if they succeeded in reaching the ground safely he would follow them. The rope was finished, the order of descent adjusted. At "the witching hour" of one in the morning they went to the scene of

action, and having fastened the rope began to descend. Four men reached the earth in safety. The fifth went in a hurry and the rope broke as he touched the ground. The next man dislocated his ankles, and broke some ribs ; was so grievously hurt that he never recovered. Mr. Witherspoon concluded to await his liberation in a safer manner. This came to pass after the battle of Culloden, which was fought on April 16th, 1746. This would make his term of imprisonment exactly three months minus one day, although it is set down as two weeks in the encyclopediac surveys of his life. It is said that this experience resulted in permanent injury to his health. However this may have been, the young ecclesiastic now resumed his pastoral duties at Beith. A few years later his first book appeared. It was published anonymously, and was entitled "Ecclesiastical Characteristics, or the Arcana of Church Policy." It was a satire, and was aimed at principles and practices prevailing in the Church of Scotland. The attack was severely felt. "It lighted up a greater fire than was ever kindled in the church. It excited the rage of many ministers. Most dreadful menaces were uttered in case they should discover and convict the writer." Subsequently he published "A Serious Apology for the Ecclesiastical Characteristics, by the real Author of that Performance." In this he avowed himself the author of the offending work, which he defended upon the basis of Holy Writ, and justified by example and recommendations of grave and venerable fathers of the Church. The Ecclesiastical Characteristics added much to his fame. Bishop Warburton mentions the work with particular approbation, and expresses his wish that "the Church of England had such a corrector." Witherspoon continued to live in great reputation and usefulness at Beith, enjoying the confidence and affection of the people until the beginning of the year 1757, when he accepted a call to Paisley. He was installed there January 16th, 1757. In the course

of that year he was chosen moderator of the synod of Glasgow and Ayr. In Paisley, as in Beith, he faithfully performed the duties of his office, and preached on various public occasions.

In 1762 he preached a sermon entitled "Seasonable Advice to Young People," which involved him in some difficulty. The subject was "Sinners Sitting in the Seat of the Scornful." It denounced some young men for mocking the sacrament. The sermon was published with an introductory address to the publisher, in which the names of the accused were given. This occasioned great offence, followed by prosecution, which went against him. He was subjected to a heavy fine for libel, which caused him pecuniary difficulty. During residence at Paisley he became more and more widely known.

In 1764 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Aberdeen. From this time henceforward we will speak of him as Dr. Witherspoon.

The writings of the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon are various in subject and in style. There are his humorous productions—"The History of a Corporation of Servants," is witty, amusing and instructive. "The Recantation of Benjamin Towner" belongs to this same class. He wrote a number of periodical essays on social and literary topics called the "Druid." There are works on the political questions of his time. The Witherspoon wisdom is exemplified in his essay on money. His theological writings consist of sermons, essays, lectures. In his sermons are discussed nearly all the vital truths of Christianity. There is his essay on "Justification," his treatise on "Regeneration," of which the Rev. John Newton said: "I think it is the best I have seen on this important subject." There is his "Inquiry into the Scripture meaning of Charity." There are also his lectures on moral philosophy and on marriage. His "Serious Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage," was inspired

by the play of Douglas, written by Mr. John Home, a minister of the Church of Scotland. The Rev. John Newton wished this "might be read by every person who makes the least pretense to fear God." All his theological writings are remarkable for perspicuity, soundness, and earnestness. Many professors of divinity in all countries where the English language is spoken have been influenced by these important works.

When John Witherspoon, a young man of twenty-five, was in the first year of his residence at Beith, far away over the sea in the colony of New Jersey, in the month of May, 1747, a college had been founded at Elizabethtown, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Synod. During that same year it was transferred to Newark, whence it was removed to Princeton in 1757, upon the completion of a college edifice, which was named Nassau Hall, "to the immortal memory of the glorious King William the Third of the illustrious house of Nassau." From the founding of the institution until the year 1766 five men, all celebrated for genius, learning and piety, had presided there. These honored men were the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, the Rev. Aaron Burr, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, the Rev. Samuel Davis, and the Rev. Samuel Finlay. Shortly after the death of President Finlay, in July, 1776, "the eyes of the trustees of Nassau Hall were directed to a brilliant star which had been shining in the firmament of Scotland."

This same luminary had already attracted the attention of the dwellers upon the earth at Dublin, at Dundee, and at Rotterdam, but he was unwilling to leave a sphere where he had become so useful and famous as a Paisley. Moreover, Mrs. Witherspoon was loth to leave the "sepulchres of her fathers." Therefore the invitation to Princeton was declined. Subsequently, being wrought upon by the entreaties of friends whose judgment he respected, animated by the hope of greater usefulness in the ministry and inter-

ests of learning in the new world, the objections of Mrs. Witherspoon being overcome, he resolved to cross the ocean and accept the charge to which he had been called by friends of the College of New Jersey. It involved no small sacrifice to sever the connexion with the people of Paisley, to leave fame and happiness in the prime of life and go to a new country. Not long before he left Scotland, an old gentleman, a relative of the family, promised to make him his heir if he would not go to America. He had very little regard for personal interest when opposed to the claims of duty.

In December, 1767, Mr. Richard Stockton informed the board of trustees that the differences which had prevented Dr. Witherspoon's acceptance had been removed, and upon re-election he would enter upon that public service. The news was received with great satisfaction. There was immediate unanimous re-election. On April 16th, 1768, he preached a farewell sermon to the people of Paisley, which was published under the name of "Ministerial Fidelity in Declaring the Whole Counsel of God."

In May, 1768, at the age of forty-six years, John Witherspoon, with his wife and children, took leave of the tombs of their ancestors, and of their living kindred, and departed for a strange land, where his name was to be made great, where he was to be blessed, and where he was to become a blessing. They took their journey deliberately, being three months on the way. On the evening of arrival in Princeton, in August, great was the joy of the occasion. The village was illuminated, and, it is said, also the adjacent counties. On August 17th, 1768, he was inaugurated. He brought with him to America his wife, five children, and three hundred valuable volumes. The volumes he presented to the college. His friends in England and Scotland, gave many more.

It is no reflection upon the illustrious predecessors, Dick-

inson, Burr, Edwards, Davis and Finlay, to say that the College of New Jersey was at that time in a deplorable condition. This was due to some extent to the newness of the country. It was also owing to the fact that party views and feelings had mingled largely with the management of the college. The college was in debt. The treasury was empty. It may be easily perceived that the coming to Princeton had involved no small sacrifice, but it was made voluntarily, intelligently. Dr. Witherspoon at once identified himself with the interests of his adopted country and of the college. His presence awakened new confidence in the institution. One of the first benefits which resulted was the increase of funds. At that time the college was dependent upon the liberality of individuals. Dr. Witherspoon made a tour through the country appealing to the friends of learning for aid. He even issued an "Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica and other West India Islands in behalf of the College of New Jersey." Owing to his enterprise and effort the debt was soon extinguished. No one ever heard him utter a word in derogation of the merits of his predecessors. He caused important revolutions in the systems of education, yet he made no violent changes, but introduced his improvements silently, imperceptibly.

Great advantage was derived from his literature, and mode of superintendence. He enlarged the course of philosophy so as to include political science and international law. He promoted the study of mathematics. He introduced the lecture method. He himself gave lectures in rhetoric, in moral philosophy, history, and theology. He introduced a system of public voluntary competition among the students in various branches of study pursued in the college. One of these consisted in translating a given phrase of English into Latin on the spot without previous preparation, and in an extemporaneous exercise in writing Latin, for the completion of which a short specified time of only a

few moments was allowed. The competition in Greek was in reading, translating, analyzing.

He instituted a class in Hebrew (1772). He introduced the study of French. His especial department of instruction was that of divinity. During the period of presidency he acted as pastor of the church in Princeton. His theology was Calvinistic.

He had an admirable faculty for governing, and for exciting the emulation of the youth committed to his care. Young and old loved his society. He was very fond of social intercourse. He had great discernment of character; was very kind and attentive to young people; never lost an opportunity to impart useful advice, and that with so much kindness and suavity that it could not be forgotten. The number of students increased; the reputation of the College of New Jersey was widely extended. In coming to America the sole purpose of Dr. Witherspoon was to promote the cause of learning and religion here. It was divinely ordered that the sphere of his usefulness should be enlarged, and that he should be one of the founders of the republic. For several years war clouds had been gathering, and now the storm of the Revolution broke over the country. The eight years of prosperity to Princeton were to be followed by six of calamity and war. Other colleges suffered from enlistment—Princeton entirely dispersed. In an eloquent paper by Mr. John Grier Hibben, entitled "Princeton College and Patriotism," which appeared in the *Forum* at the time of the sesqui-centennial, Mr. Hibben declares: "The spirit of the Revolution was in the college and in the hearts of the students, kept alive, and fanned into glow and flame, by the enthusiasm of their Scotch President, long before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the first call to arms. * * * John Witherspoon was a stalwart champion of liberty—a patriot from the day he set foot on American soil. He inspired his colleagues with the

courage to sign the Declaration of Independence. * * * From the outbreak of the Revolution to its close, and through the many perplexities of the early life of our Republic, Witherspoon was sacredly devoted to the cause to which he had pledged life and reputation." As the war progressed the college edifice was alternately occupied by the two armies. The library was purloined—consumed; the woodwork, doors, floors, roof, used for fuel. In 1776 only seven students were ready to graduate, and a quorum of trustees was rarely attainable. May 17th, 1776, was appointed as a day of fasting and prayer. At that time he delivered a remarkable sermon on the Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men. This was published, and dedicated to John Hancock. It was reprinted in Glasgow, with a note denouncing the author as a rebel and a traitor. In America it produced a different effect. The citizens of New Jersey, knowing his ability, and being proud of his reputation, elected him as delegate to the convention which met at Burlington on June 10th, 1776, to frame the state constitution. On the 21st of the same month he was chosen delegate to the Continental Congress. He surprised his fellow members by his knowledge of the law. Sometime before this, John Adams mentions him as "as high a son of Liberty as any man in America."

In all important movements he took a conspicuous part. It is not possible to particularize the services rendered the country during the Revolution. Dr. Witherspoon was very active on committees. He was upon enough of them to satisfy the most zealous organizer of the present day. He was a member of secret committee; a member of the committee to confer with Washington with relation to recruiting regiments whose term of service had expired. He was upon the committee which prepared the appeal to the public during the gloom and despondency which preceded the battle of Trenton; was a member of the board of war; was

on the committee which proposed the manifesto respecting American prisoners; was on the committee appointed to investigate the difficulties in New Hampshire grants which at one time threatened civil war; was a leading member of the committee of finance. He opposed different issues of paper money, which caused so much distress, which he called "a great and deliberate breach of the public faith." He was on the committee to decree means to procure supplies for the army. He was probably on every committee appointed in his vicinity during the war, and it is said that when he differed from his compeers as to the policy to be pursued, or the means most proper to produce any desired result, subsequent events indicated the accuracy of his judgment and the soundness of his views. After taking part as a member of the Provincial Congress in the overthrow of the royal governor, William Franklin, he was elected to the Continental Congress, and took his seat in June, 1776, a few days before the Declaration of Independence.

Several historians mention the impatience of Dr. Witherspoon at the delay in making that "noble Declaration," which, according to Buckle, "ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king, and blazoned on the porch of every royal palace." The chroniclers speak of a distinguished member, whose name, however, is never given, who objected that the people were not "ripe for a Declaration of Independence." To which Dr. Witherspoon replied: "In my judgment, sir, we are not only ripe but rotting." He further declared, "he that will not respond to its accents, and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions, is unworthy of the name of freeman," and protested "although these grey hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather that they should descend thither by the hand of the public executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country."

On the 2d of July, 1776, in the words of John Adams,

"the greatest question was decided that ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was, nor will be, decided among men." * * * "The 2d of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America, to be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival, commemorated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty, from one end of the continent to the other, from this time onward, forevermore. * * * I am aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure that it will cost us to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these states, yet through all the gloom I can see the ray of light and glory; that the end is worth all the means; that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even though we should rue it, which I trust in God we shall not." On this day "twelve colonies, with no dissenting one, resolved that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." The election of Thomas Jefferson to draft the "confession of faith of the rising empire" was followed by nearly three days of debate, by the supporters and opposers of that paper, which was finally adopted, with the amendments thereto. On the 4th of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, and the United States of America had come into existence. "The Declaration was not signed by the members of Congress on the day on which it was agreed to, but it was duly authenticated by the president and secretary, and published to the world. The nation, when it made the choice of its great anniversary, selected not the day of the resolution of its independence when it closed the past, but that of the declaration of the principles on which it opened its new career."

On the 2d day of August Dr. Witherspoon affixed his signature to the Declaration.

For six years he was annually reappointed to Congress, and performed the arduous duties without intermission during the whole period. He warmly maintained the necessity of union to impart vigor and success to measures of government. Strongly he combatted the opinion that a lasting confederacy of the states was impracticable. "Shall we establish nothing good because we know it cannot be eternal? Shall we live without government because every constitution has its old age and its period? Because we know that we shall die, shall we take no pains to preserve or lengthen our life?" Dr. Witherspoon was a sagacious politician. He had great influence as a speaker. He had a happy talent for extemporaneous debate. His powers of memory were of importance to him in Congress. He said that he could precisely repeat a speech or sermon, written by himself, by reading it three times. While serving his country as a civilian, he never forgot that he was preëminently a "servant of God." He never laid aside the robe which distinguished his sacred office, but sat for six years in "full clerical dress."

Dr. Witherspoon was a profound theologian. He was a grave, dignified, solemn speaker—perspicuous, simple. He was well acquainted with human nature; never read his sermons or used notes, but wrote and committed them to memory by reading three times. A peculiar affection of the nerves, attended by dizziness, always overcame him when he gave free vent to his feelings. Dr. Rush thought this apoplectic. He once fell from the pulpit in a moment of religious excitement, and was obliged to impose a guard upon his sensibility, and substitute grave seriousness of manner in place of the fire and warmth he was so well qualified to display. His eloquence was simple and grave and as animated as his malady would permit. Perhaps it was

well for the audience that this check was placed upon him, for it is said that his was a kind of Demosthenian eloquence which made the blood "shiver along the arteries." His discourses commanded universal attention. His manner was irresistible. He never indulged in "florid flights of fancy." A lady, walking through his garden one day, remarked: "Excellent, but no flowers." "No, madam, neither in my garden nor in my discourse." Some one adds: "Although without flowers, they were certainly not without fruit."

During the whole period of presidency of Princeton College he was anxious to train those who had the ministry of the gospel in view, for usefulness in this holy profession. His constant advice to young preachers was never to enter the pulpit without the most careful preparation. His ambition was to render them the most learned, the most pious and most exemplary body of men in the republic. Scarcely any individual of the age had a more vigorous mind or sound understanding. He was well versed in the dead languages, was proficient in Greek and Hebrew, and spoke and read Latin with facility. He also spoke and read French. Yet some one says he was not of varied or extended learning. In 1779 he wrote to a friend: "I have had it in view for some time to spend the remainder of my life in *otium cum dignitate*. You know I always was fond of being a scientific farmer. That disposition has not lost, but gathered in strength since my being in America. In this respect I received a dreadful shock indeed from the English while they were here. They have seized and mostly destroyed my whole stock, and committed such ravages that we have not yet fully recovered from it." About this time he wished to resign his seat in Congress, on account of the expense incident to the position, but he was re-elected and obliged to remain.

At the end of the war the college was again in a state of poverty. In 1783 Dr. Witherspoon was urged to go to

Great Britain for financial aid for the college, as he said in a letter to John Jay, "very much contrary to my judgment." It surely was an ill-timed appeal for help to the people from whom they had so recently cut asunder the bond of union. The voyage was a disastrous one. In a severe storm while on the ocean, Dr. Witherspoon received a blow upon one of his eyes, which resulted subsequently in blindness, and he collected just money enough to pay the expenses of the voyage.

The beatific vision of "Cicero in his retreat at Tusculum —*beautiful* Tusculum"—was not given to Mrs. Blimber, but the friends of Dr. Witherspoon enjoyed the felicity of seeing him retire to his farm of that name, situated one mile from Princeton. This came to pass in the year 1784, when, finding nothing to interfere, he resigned his home on the college grounds to his son-in-law, Samuel Stanhope Smith, and withdrew from those public functions not connected with his duties as president of the college and minister of the gospel.

It is said that in appearance Dr. Witherspoon had more of what is called presence than any man except Washington. He was six feet in height, with a tendency to be corpulent. He was fair, and well proportioned. He had intelligent eyes. His eyebrows were large, the ends next the temple hanging down, occasioned by the habit of pulling them when excited. His countenance was of a grave, benign expression. Like other clergymen in the country at the beginning of national independence, he laid aside his wig and wore his natural hair, which covered his head, and which was confined in an artificial curl or buckle. His portrait by Charles Peale may be found in the Hall of Independence, Philadelphia.

"Patriots, go: to that proud Hall repair.
The sacred relics which are treasured there
With tongueless eloquence shall tell
Of those who for their country fell,"

and of those who, with equal heroism and devotion for sake of country, resigned every earthly advantage. The elder Cato considered family life the central object of existence. It was better to be a good husband than a great senator. Dr. Witherspoon was a sincere friend, an affectionate husband, a true and tender father. It was his custom to spend the last day of every year with his family as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. He maintained that family religion and the careful discharge of relative duties was an excellent incentive to the growth of religion in a man's own soul. "How can any person" he asked, "bend the knees in prayer every day with his family without its being a powerful restraint upon him from the indulgence of any sin which is visible to them? Will such a one think you dare to indulge himself in anger, or choose to be seen by them when he comes staggering home with drunkenness, unfit to perform any duty or ready to sin still more by the manner of performance? Let me earnestly commend the faithful discharge and careful management of family duties as you regard the glory of God, the interest of the church, and the advantage of your posterity and your final acceptance in the day of judgment."

The reader of Johnson's Encyclopedia may be led to believe that Dr. Witherspoon sent his only son to the war, and that he was killed at the battle of Germantown. That Major James Witherspoon was killed at the battle of Germantown is most grievously true, but there remained John, who was a physician, and David, who was a lawyer. President Samuel Stanhope Smith, Dr. Witherspoon's successor at Princeton, was also his son-in-law, having married the daughter, Ann Witherspoon. Dr. David Ramsay, the historian, married Frances the younger daughter. These five, James, John, David, Ann and Frances, came with their parents to America in the year 1768. Now, in the year 1789, the time drew near when it was appointed unto Eliza-

beth Montgomery Witherspoon to die. This was truly a grief of mind to her husband. Nevertheless, a year and a half later, in 1791, he again took a wife, and her name was Mrs. Dill, of Philadelphia. She was twenty-three years old and he was sixty-nine. Two daughters comprised their family. One died in infancy. The other continued to live, and married the Rev. James S. Woods, and some of their descendants are still existent. There are also descendants of John Witherspoon, and his former wife, Elizabeth Montgomery Witherspoon.

When this narrative had progressed thus far information was received through a distinguished living jurist of a third wife and nine children. Let it be remembered that the second marriage took place in the year 1791. Dr. Witherspoon died in 1794. The introduction, in three remaining years of earthly career, of two wives and eleven children, making a grand total of thirteen, is attended with palpable difficulty. At this crisis appeal was made to a living lineal, the Rev. D. W. Woods, Jr., of Lewistown, Pennsylvania. From him were received certain facts already incorporated in this article, but of the third wife he said: "Perhaps some of the theosophists may be able to explain Witherspoon's third marriage after his re-incarnation. But I never heard of his ghostly hymeneal." From this same source (Rev. D. W. Woods) came copies of two letters written in the year 1776 by Witherspoon to his son David. They may be obtained by application to the present writer.

"There is aye so muckle to say about a minister," and when the minister has likewise been president of a college, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, the theme becomes endless. The history of Dr. Witherspoon abounds with stories of his wit, and specimens of his pleasantry. There is a favorite anecdote relating to the surrender of the British to General Gates at Saratoga, which is contained in most American histories. Many minor incidents of similar

nature may be discovered by those who will take the trouble to search for them. During the last two years of his life he became blind; yet his mental activity did not abate. His correspondence was kept up through an amanuensis. Aided by a guiding hand he continued to ascend the pulpit and to preach every third Sunday, with all the earnestness of his early days.

In the autumn of 1793 "having won the bounds of man's appointed years, life's blessings all enjoyed, life's labors done, serenely to his final rest he passed," on the fifteenth of November, 1794.

In the cemetery, at Princeton, he sleeps by the side of Edwards, Burr, Dickinson, Finlay, and other kindred spirits. The following are the words which were inscribed on the marble which covers his grave:

"Reliquae Mortales—Joannis Witherspoon—D.D., LL.D., Collegii Neo-Cæsariensis, Præsidis, plurimum venerandi; Sub hoc marmore inhumantur. Natus parochio Yestrensi Scotorum. Nonis Februarii MDCCXXII, V. S. Literis humanibus in Universitati Edinburgensi imbutus; Sacris ordinibus initiatus, anno MDCCXLIII munere pastoraliperviginti quinque annos fideliter functus est primo apud Beith, deinde apud Paisley. Praesis designatus Aulae Nasovicae anno MDCCLXVIII; Idibus Sextilis maxima expectatione omnium, munus praesidiale suscepit. Vir eximia pietate ac virtute; omnibus dolibus animi prae cellens; doctrina atque optimarum artium studies,—penitus eruditus,—Concionator gravis, solemnis,—Orationes ejus sacrae—praeceptes et institutis vitae,—praestantissimus,—nec non expositionibus sacros Sanctae Scripturae—dilucidis sunt repletae. In sermone familiari comis lepidus; blandus rerum ecclesiae forensium peritissimus; summâ prudentiâ et in regendâ et instituendâ juventute,—praeditus. Existimationem Collegii apud peregrinos auxit;—bonasque literas in eo multum provexit—Inter lumina clarissima et doctrinae et

ecclesiae diu luxit. Tandem veneratus, dilectus, lugendus omnibus animam efflavit XV Kal. Nov. anno Salutis mundi MDCCXCIV Aetatis suae LXXIII."

The honor connected with the erection of the colossal statue of John Witherspoon, which faces one of the most beautiful drives at Fairmount Park, belongs to the late, much lamented, Rev. Dr. William P. Breed, the funds being mainly raised by his personal efforts.

"To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die." John Witherspoon is not forgotten in the land of his birth. In his adopted country his memory must live while America is a nation, and in the heavenly country he has received the crown of glory which fadeth not away.

THE DEFENCES OF THE DELAWARE RIVER IN THE REVOLUTION.

BY

HENRY HOBART BELLAS, LL. B.

CAPTAIN U. S. ARMY.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY APRIL 19, 1897.

Mr. President, Ladies and Members of the Wyoming Historical Society :

The subject of the paper which I propose to read before you this evening is one which has been already treated by those far abler than myself, so that I must ask your indulgence in the brief review which, at the risk of repetition, I now offer of the history of the defences of the Delaware River both prior to and during the Revolution, as well as of those operations which finally led to the evacuation of the city of Philadelphia by the British in less than a year after its occupation.

The defences of the Delaware for the protection of Philadelphia in the early provincial period were few and exceedingly primitive. Of the rude forts erected on the Delaware by the early Swedes and Dutch during the 17th century in the locality of New Castle and Wilmington, viz., Forts Nassau, Christina, Casimer and others, with their constantly changing possession, we will not now stop to speak. The old Wicaco block-house, which also stood near the river, and it is believed about the site afterwards occupied by the Swedish church, Gloria Dei, on Swanson south of Christian street, was built in 1669; principally, however, for defence against the Indians. This was torn down in 1698, and the church dedicated on July 2, 1700. Coming down, then, to a later period, we find that in April, 1748, the first battery, consisting of thirteen guns, was erected by the Associators for the protection of the city against French and

Spanish privateers, at Anthony Atwood's wharf, under "Society Hill," between Pine and Cedar, and near the present Lombard street. The breastwork was constructed of timber and planks eight to ten feet in thickness and filled in with earth. Much of the work was done by the volunteer labor of the city carpenters, and the entire fortification was rapidly completed and its armament of six and nine-pounders mounted in place.

There was a great scarcity of cannon, however, we are informed by the authorities of the time. All the old and hitherto neglected pieces lying about the wharves were overhauled and seventy or more found serviceable for an emergency. Application was made at the same time to Governors Shirley of Massachusetts and Clinton of New York for the loan of some additional pieces. The latter sent a number of eighteen-pounders with their carriages, which were brought overland from New York. The managers of the lottery which had been organized for the purpose of raising £3000 for defence, at the same time sent to England for additional cannon for another battery, 400 feet in length, styled the Grand battery, which was located below the city and beyond old Swede's church, on ground afterwards occupied by the United States Navy Yard. Although the Associator companies mounted guard here during the early summer for the protection of the river, it was not until August of this same year that the pieces applied for to England were received. The proprietaries of the Province also responded to the request of the city corporation by sending over thirteen pieces (prophetic number) in November, 1750, which were also mounted, making a total of upwards of fifty pieces of 18-, 24- and 32-pounders. One of the largest, a new 32-pounder, was presented by the "Schuylkill Fishing Company," and in succeeding years was known by the name of "Old Schuylkill." Its trunnions were broken off when finally abandoning the city to the British

twenty-seven years after, and it was left lying in the ditch at Fort Mifflin whither it had been removed. Here it rested till a few years since, when it was reclaimed and by direction of the United States War Department presented to the celebrated "State in Schuylkill," who zealously to-day guard it as a relic of the antiquity of their Association.

All these early colonial defences along the Delaware near the city, had been abandoned at the time of the British occupation. Fort Mifflin, then called Mud Fort, and located below the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers; Fort Mercer, at Red Bank opposite on the Jersey shore, and the fortifications at Billingsport farther down, were still all garrisoned by American troops. The river at the same points was also effectually blockaded by the American fleet, consisting of over sixty vessels of all sizes, sorts and conditions, under the command of Commodore John Hazlewood, together with a strong *chevaux-de-frise* of logs, constructed in September of the preceding year across the main channel on the Jersey side, and reaching from Billingsport to the island of the same name opposite. Of the first named of these defences (the present Fort Mifflin), its construction had been originally authorized by the Assembly as early as 1762, when there were fears of a war with Spain, and £15,000 voted therefor. This appropriation, however, had been diverted for other purposes, and a new act was passed nine years later (1771) appropriating an additional sum of £15,000 in letters of credit. The commissioners in charge of the work were Joseph Galloway, Benjamin Chew, Michael Hillegas, Thomas Cadwalader, and several others. They purchased a small island in the Delaware, about eight miles below the city, owned by Galloway and known as Great Mud Island (one of two of that name), which became thereafter known as Fort Island. Application was made to General Gage, then in command, for an engineer officer to construct the work. He appointed the skillful Captain John

Montessor of the British army, who superintended during the next two years the construction, without any anticipation of the use to which it would eventually be put in resisting the power of Great Britain. By a still stronger coincidence, this same officer was also Howe's chief engineer in the attack on the same fortification less than half a dozen years later.

The site for Fort Mercer opposite was originally selected immediately after the commencement of the Revolution (in July, 1775), when the Committee of Safety, with Franklin as its President, went down to Red Bank with a number of engineers to decide upon its location. In the following year (December, 1776), General Putnam, who had been appointed Military Governor of Philadelphia by Washington, began new works (with Kosciusko for his engineer officer) at Red Bank, opposite the fort on Mud Island, and protecting the upper *chevaux-de-frise* in the river.* This defence, known as Fort Mercer, though in the State of New Jersey, was especially constructed under the authority of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety on the recommendation of Major Thomas Proctor of the Artillery, made to the Council on December 23, 1776, though built under the directions, as stated, of Kosciusko, and afterwards of Col. John Bull in the next year.

Du Coudray, a French engineer, who, with General Mifflin, had been delegated by Congress to superintend the completion of all the works along the Delaware, at the time of the British advance on the city, had reported, while commending, with a few exceptions, the manner in which the works had been constructed, that he was of the decided

* Exactly when this fortification was first called Fort Mercer is not definitely known (it being named after Gen. Hugh Mercer, who fell at Princeton), but it must have borne that name at the time of, if not before, the attack thereon by Count Donop, since the name is mentioned in a letter of Washington's to Col. Samuel Smith, dated October 28, in this year, and a joint communication to Commodore Hazlewood from Generals St. Clair and Knox and the Baron De Kalb, in November of the same year, is dated "from Fort Mercer."

opinion that these at Fort Mercer, like the works at Billingsport, farther down, were too extensive for proper defence and could not be made of much use in obstructing the entire channel of the river. He recommended the removal of nearly all the guns therefrom to Billingsport, leaving only two or three at Red Bank as sufficient for the protection of the *chevaux-de-frise*. This latter, originally devised by Dr. Franklin, was likewise defended by the improvised Delaware flotilla of gun-boats, galleys, xebecques, floating batteries, fire-ships and fire-rafts, the last named being intended to fire the enemy's shipping. This navy, constructed with great rapidity by the American ship builders and controlled by the Committee of Safety, was, as stated, under the immediate command of Commodore Hazlewood, who had superseded Seymour, enfeebled by age, and had the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush for its fleet-surgeon. Though its services, both before and during the British occupation were valuable, it scarcely repaid the Committee of Safety for its construction, either in prizes or in security against the enemy, although it cost over £100,000 per annum to maintain. Much of its efficiency, as we will see later on, was lost by jealousy and by conflict of authority between the commanding officers of the land and river forces. At Billingsport,* Robert Smith, under orders of the Committee of Safety in 1776, commenced to build an extensive series of fortifications which had been also planned by Kosciusko (at the same time he had laid out those at Fort Mercer), to protect the lower *chevaux-de-frise* in the river. Colonel Bull and Blaithwaite Jones continued the construction, the former as commandant and the latter as chief engineer. Though a considerable number of men were employed, the works were still unfinished in June, 1777, and were reported as requiring yet several months to complete them.

* Originally Byllinge's Point, so called in honor of Edward Byllinge, the purchaser of Lord Berkley's moiety of the Province of New Jersey.

Considerably farther down the river, at New Castle, was also a battery which had been originally erected here in 1748, as well as Fort Christiana built the same year as the "Association Battery," and on the site of the old Swedish Fort Christina at Wilmington.

All these defences, however, were reported by General Mifflin in his report to Congress just prior to the British occupation, as in an unsatisfactory condition. Those on Fort Island were badly constructed, one-half the guns being so placed as to be virtually useless. At Red Bank the river was too wide for any serious execution by the guns of Fort Mercer. The works at Billingsport were on too extensive a scale and still remained, as stated, unfinished. The Navy Board arranged to flood Hog Island, and the meadows immediately below and surrounding Fort Mifflin ; to construct a bridge of boats from the latter to Province Island, and to throw a garrison into a fortification at Darby Creek. It also sunk vessels in the main channel of the Delaware to block navigation.

Such was the condition of the defences of Philadelphia, when Howe, with his army, occupied the city on the 26th day of September, 1777, some two weeks after the battle of Brandywine.

The British general's position, however, as has been well said, was one to excite the liveliest anxieties of a prudent commander of an invading force. To the north of the city was the main army of the Americans under Washington, and which had just shown itself bold enough and strong enough also, to attack the enemy in his fortified stronghold. On the south were the forts, still held by the Continental troops, the galleys and gun-boats, the *chevaux-de-frise* and other obstructions in the river, shutting him out from the navigation of the Delaware and the provisioning of his army ; the militia of New Jersey patrolled all the east side of the river, while on the west side of the Schuylkill the country

was held and guarded by the Pennsylvania State troops under General Potter. General Howe saw at a glance that the river must be opened at *once* for communication between his army and the British fleet lying in the river opposite Chester, or he would be forced to abandon the city he had but just gained; since, hemmed in as he was on all sides, it would be impossible to supply his army. It has been admitted that had Gates not withheld, apparently from envious motives, the reinforcements called for immediately after Burgoyne's surrender, two brigades of fresh troops would have aided materially, and in all probability have prevented these river defences from being overcome and forced the result indicated, viz., the immediate evacuation of Philadelphia by the enemy. The colonial defences, alluded to as having been abandoned by the Americans, were already occupied and strengthened by the British. A redoubt was constructed at the intersection of Reed and Swanson streets, the old "Association Battery" was manned with three or four guns, another was built at Swanson and Christian streets, and still another in the upper part of the city on a wharf above Cohocksink Creek; all manned with twelve-pounders and howitzers.

The American gun-boat flotilla which, with the ships of war "Montgomery" and "Aetna," under command of Commodore Andrew Caldwell and Captain Thomas Reed, had on May 8th, 1776, attacked the British frigates "Roebuck," "Liverpool," and their tenders off the mouth of Christina Creek, running the former ashore, capturing a brig belonging to the squadron, maintaining the fight with spirit until dark, and pursuing the enemy's vessels as far as New Castle, gave promise in this activity of accomplishing good results in the future.

On the day after the occupation of the city, accordingly (September 27th), and before the enemy had an opportunity to fully complete their counter river defences, Hazlewood

sent up the frigates "Montgomery" and "Delaware," with many galleys from the flotilla, to engage them. The "Delaware" anchored opposite the lower battery and opened fire, while the remaining vessels engaged the other batteries. Not much execution was however done on either side. The "Delaware" was badly manoeuvred, got aground, was forced to strike her flag and was taken possession of by the enemy. Another of the vessels, a schooner, was also run ashore and lost, while the remainder of the fleet, badly crippled, attempted to run past the batteries and up the river between Windmill Island and the Jersey shore. They were driven back in confusion by the Cohocksink battery, and the "Montgomery" had her mast shot away by the lower battery, while the rest sought shelter under the guns of Fort Mifflin. The result of the whole venture was a dismal failure. It was necessary, however, for the British to reduce the defences at Billingsport and Red Bank before their fleet could get up the river to either attack Fort Island, or to pass, without interruption, through the *chevaux-de-frise* and relieve the force shut up in the city.

A combined naval and military attack was therefore planned to take effect at once. On September 29th two regiments under Lieut. Colonel Stirling were detached in order to make a movement against the fort at Billingsport, which still protected the lower line of obstructions in the river. The British force marched to Chester and prepared to cross the Delaware. The officers and crews of many of the American galleys, considering their destruction imminent, commenced to desert *en masse*. Colonels Bradford and Will of the City Militia had entrenched themselves in the Billingsport lines when Philadelphia was occupied; succeeding Col. Jehu Eyre, who had been ordered there in September with two companies of militia artillery. Colonel Bradford's garrison was unequal, however, for such an extensive work, consisting, as his force did, of only one hun-

dred militia, a company of artillery, and about one hundred and fifty additional Jersey militia. The enemy landed nearly one thousand men at Raccoon Creek, opposite Chester and some four miles below Billingsport, on October 1st. General Newcomb (evidently as great a failure, judging from contemporaneous historical accounts, as some of his naval brethren of the time), was sent with a party of New Jersey troops to meet the British, but failed to prevent their advance and retreated. Thereupon Colonel Bradford sent his garrison to Fort Island and Fort Mercer, took off all the ammunition, removed some of the cannon, spiked the rest, set fire to the barracks and other buildings, and abandoned the post. The Highlanders and marines of the enemy took possession of the works and effectually destroyed them, as well as burnt the remaining houses and abandoned likewise the place on October 7th. The British fleet was thus enabled to remove and pass the lower line of obstructions and approach the fortifications immediately below Philadelphia, while Admiral Howe now sent up a squadron of gunboats under Captain Clayton, which passed undiscovered the American forts and flotilla and reached the city in safety. In these boats General Howe, on October 21st, sent Colonel Count Donop across the Delaware to Cooper's Point with a regiment of Myrbach infantry, chasseurs and three battalions of Hessian grenadiers, two thousand five hundred men in all, to attack Fort Mercer; the reduction of both this post and Fort Mifflin being now a matter of vital importance to the British.

Washington, anxious for the defence of both these forts, had already sent forward reinforcements under Lieut. Colonel Simms of the Sixth Virginia Regiment. He crossed the Delaware below Bristol, and reaching Moorestown at eight o'clock in the evening of the same day, heard that a body of the enemy was crossing at Cooper's Ferry. Warning the detachments of the American militia he found on guard

on his route, he marched on to Red Bank and offered his services to Lieut. Colonel Christopher Greene, in command at Fort Mercer, but the latter declined them and sent Simms across the river at daybreak to aid in the impending defence of Fort Mifflin on Mud Island.

The advance of the Hessians in the meantime was slow and cautious. Proceeding by the way of Haddonfield, they found the bridge taken away at Timber Creek, a few miles from the post, and at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, the front of the enemy's column was seen emerging from the woods on the sides of the fort opposite from the river.

You are all doubtless fairly familiar with the story of that heroic defence by the gallant Greene and his brave garrison of four hundred from Varnum's Rhode Island brigade. Although with but a small proportion of his guns mounted and unable to properly man the entire work, Greene scorned the summons to surrender. "We ask no quarter, nor shall we expect any," was his reply. While determined to resist at the outworks, he reserved his main stand for the interior fort in the southern angle of the works. Finding the advance posts and the outworks virtually abandoned but not destroyed, the enemy imagined for the time the garrison had fled. Shouting "victory" and with the drums beating a lively march, they rushed toward the redoubt under Lieutenant-Colonel Minnegerode, only to be met with a withering shower of grape-shot and musket balls poured upon them from both front and flank with terrible effect, in which their leader fell, and driving them back to the remote intrenchments. A portion rushing around to the river front endeavored to scale the works on that side, but the American galleys in the river quickly drove them thence, and the entire assaulting column on the northern side of the fort fled in disorder to the woods pursued by the cannonade from both fort and galleys. The storming column on the

south side, and which was under the immediate command of Count Donop himself, met with an even worse fate. He fell mortally wounded; his men vainly endeavored to scale the palisades, nine feet high, and unable to gain a foothold in the works were mercilessly slaughtered, until they also fled utterly routed and joined their companions in their panic-struck retreat. Three days later their commander closed his earthly career, a prisoner in the hands of the Americans, and "a victim," in his last words, "of his own ambition and the avarice of his sovereign." The total Hessian loss was from 300 to 400 men, that of the Americans less than 30 killed and wounded. The enemy retreated to Haddonfield, abandoning all their wounded on the field, and thence the next day made their way back to Philadelphia. In the interesting personal reminiscences recently discovered of a member of the Howell family, the narrator (the mother of the late Dr. Benjamin Paschall Howell of Woodbury, New Jersey), gives a realistic account of the scenes already described. She remembered well the appearance of the Hessians as they passed through Haddonfield, where, a child of ten years of age, she was then residing. They presented a very fine and martial appearance, and seemed to be, as they were, a picked body of men. They were in excellent spirits, as if assured of an easy victory over raw and undisciplined troops, as the Americans were considered by them. She also graphically describes the marked contrast in their bearing the next day in their retreat, panic-stricken and apparently demoralized. All discipline seemed cast aside; two of the soldiers entered her mother's house in search of food, seized what they could find, quarreled over it, and in the struggle it fell to the floor and was trampled on. In their retreat through the door their officer thumped their heads against the door-post, much to the delight of her mother, who sat with her back against a corner cupboard that contained a supply of ammunition for

the American forces in the neighborhood and which she jealously guarded.

Lieut. Colonel Linsing, who commanded the retreat, as well as Count Donop and Lieut. Colonel Minnegerode, both of whom fell in the attack on Fort Mercer, were all well remembered—particularly Donop, whose fine appearance and tall, elegant figure attracted much attention. Several persons, whom they found along the roads in the vicinity of Haddonfield, were pressed into service by the Hessians. Two, a white man and a negro, belonging to the narrator's father (Colonel Ellis), who commanded the New Jersey Militia in the neighborhood, volunteered their assistance as guides and were loud in their abuse of the Americans whose destruction they now considered certain. That they made a fatal error, however, was evident from the fact, she stated, that immediately after the repulse of the enemy at Fort Mercer these two miscreants were identified, seized and hung in the fort.

The account of the slaughter of the Hessians and the finding of Count Donop still living among the slain by De Maudit, Greene's engineer officer, tallies with the usual published historical version. Some of the Americans wished to give Donop no quarter, but were prevailed on by De Maudit to leave him in his hands. He was taken first to the old Whitall House, near where he fell, but was, states the narrator, afterwards removed to the house of the Lowe family south of Woodbury Creek. Here (and not in the Whitall House as generally stated) he died three days after, though his wounds had not at first been considered mortal. He was buried between the fort and the Whitall House and his grave marked by a boulder and inscription. Our informant remembered that both these houses were used as hospitals, and particularly that the floors of the Whitall House (still standing), showed traces, for a long time after, of the blood of the wounded Hessians, who pressed so close

to the Americans in the fight that the wads from the guns of the latter, it is said, were blown through their bodies.

Colonel Greene's conduct in the defence of Fort Mercer was highly applauded, and the Board of War was directed by Congress to prepare and present him with a sword as an appreciation of his services. This tribute, like so many other similar cases, was finally presented to his family, several years afterward, when Greene himself was no longer living to receive it.

The firing of the first gun from the Hessian battery upon Fort Mercer was followed by a combined attack on both this fort and Fort Mifflin opposite, by the British vessels in the Delaware. The "Augusta," "Roebuck," "Liverpool," and several smaller vessels passed through the *chevaux-de-frise* at Billingsport and came up the river to join in the assault. The channel, however, having been changed by the obstructions in the river, the "Augusta" grounded near the mouth of Manto Creek, the "Merlin" followed suit just beyond, and before the next morning the "Roebuck" was likewise aground. The cannonade against the fort by the vessels resulted in little or no injury. When morning came the exceedingly perilous situation of the British vessels was apparent to the American fleet, and Hazlewood immediately advanced to the attack with his galleys and floating batteries. Four fire-ships were also sent against the "Augusta," and although she made a fierce defence she took fire either from the hot shot of the enemy, or from her own guns, and soon after her magazine exploded, causing the loss of many of her crew. The "Roebuck" had gotten afloat and with the remainder of the British fleet, with the exception of the "Merlin" (which was abandoned and burnt by her own crew), was driven back by the fire of the galleys and forts and fell down the river again below Billingsport, leaving the Americans masters of the fortifications still for a brief period. Both land and naval attacks by the enemy had resulted in

complete failure. It was none the less imperative, however, for General Howe and his army in Philadelphia to establish communication, and quickly too, with Admiral Howe and his fleet in the river below. Preparations were pushed with vigor for an immediate attack on Fort Mifflin on Mud Island, and when the first week in November arrived the British were ready for the combined assault from all sides on the little devoted garrison. This fortification had been originally designed by Montross to command and sweep the main channel in the river, and the defences on the north and west sides were indifferent. Batteries were therefore erected by the British against them on the opposite shores from every available point, and particularly on Province and Carpenter's Islands; the guns, twenty-four and thirty-two pounders being taken from the frigates and ships-of-the-line in the Delaware. The fleet likewise, arrayed against the fort, comprised nearly a dozen vessels of all sizes, from the "Somerset" of seventy guns down, and making over 300 cannon on land and river, besides mortars, trained against the doomed fortification.

The brave Lieut. Colonel Samuel Smith, in command since September 27th, was not unmindful of the preparations against him. He had strengthened the place in every possible way and in conjunction with the galleys and gun-boats had already assaulted and captured one of the enemy's batteries opposite, on Province Island. But the fort had neither defences nor guns to properly withstand a powerful attack. As stated, while a strong battery commanded the approaches from the river, the remaining sides were defended alone by wooden block-houses, embankments and stockades, faced with ditches but not defended by artillery. The fort was also supported by a small battery opposite on Brush Island, by the sloops and brigs, the galleys and floating batteries, and other craft under Red Bank on the Jersey side, where Greene still held Fort Mercer; while a three gun battery

was also erected a little below at the mouth of Manto Creek. Varnum's Rhode Island brigade had likewise been sent down by Washington to support the fort in case of an assault by land.

It is hardly my purpose here to enter into a detailed or a technical account of this memorable attack of six days and nights, and the equally celebrated heroic defence by the handful of brave men constituting the garrison. It has been already written and described by both historians and military writers, and has furnished the theme for many an eloquent discourse on both American bravery and American patriotism. From the recently published exhaustive and valuable correspondence of the time between General Washington and the other officers of the American forces, we obtain a clearer and more intelligent view than possessed previously of the operations by both sides during, not only this brief time, but for the entire period covered by the years 1777 and '78. Washington, with the main army at White Marsh, north of the city, was extremely anxious, by his own letters, that both Forts Mifflin and Mercer should be defended to the last extremity, and was in constant communication with Varnum and others as to their condition and necessities. Although weak in numbers and deficient in all that was necessary for an army's maintenance, yet reinforcements of men, ammunition and supplies were forwarded by Washington as speedily as obtainable, and every precaution taken that could be devised for their support. Little, however, could be done to counteract the enemy's operations.

Generals Greene, Potter and Reed also proposed to relieve the fort by an attack on the British batteries in the rear, particularly on Province Island, which threatened the immediate safety of the entire garrison, but here the swampy nature of the ground and lack of proper energy in carrying out the plans of the commander-in-chief prevented the demonstration that would alone have saved the post, until the

favorable opportunity was gone forever. It has been hitherto supposed that Washington was indifferent to the defence of these posts in the Delaware, or rather that he contented himself with *suggestions* for their continuance, to the officers immediately concerned. But the correspondence recently published from the original letters, confutes this conclusion absolutely. "Nothing," he himself says, "had taken up so much of his consideration and attention in this campaign as the relief of Fort Mifflin." As early as the beginning of the month in which the siege commenced, we find he writes to General Varnum, in command at Red Bank, urging him to use all the means in his power, and with the aid of all the men at his command, to continue the defence of the fort on Mud Island to the last extremity, and with this end in view to use all his efforts to preserve the necessary confidence and co-operation between Colonel Smith and Commodore Hazlewood, the commanders respectively of the land and naval forces at Fort Mifflin. To these latter named officers he also issued similar orders for the discharge of their duties and in the same urgent terms he directs Colonel Greene and General Potter, in command on the Jersey and Pennsylvania shores respectively, to use all their efforts to prevent the enemy from breaking the blockade established in the river against the passage of their vessels through the different channels towards the city. On the sixth he again writes Varnum, that he "is convinced that the enemy are upon the point of making a grand effort upon Fort Mifflin. A person in the confidence of one of their principal artificers thinks it will be to-day or to-morrow;" alluding, no doubt, to the information he had received of the joint attack proposed on that date, by Captain Montessor, Howe's chief engineer, and which is verified in this officer's excellent journal, published in full several years ago by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Washington then recommends that all the Continental troops be placed in or near Forts Mercer and Miff-

lin, while the militia be left to garrison the outstanding posts, and that the fleet be prepared to meet the floating batteries and fire-rafts of the enemy. On the eighth, two days later, he again repeats his warning and instructions to Varnum—to immediately reinforce Fort Mifflin as strongly as possible, and to give Commodore Hazlewood notice of the intended attack.

On the morning of the tenth the guns of the enemy were all in position, all his preparations were completed and the bombardment opened. From every vessel of the foe in the river, some carrying seventy guns, from every battery located on land and water surrounding the works on every side, was poured in for six days and nights on the small but devoted garrison, a storm of shot and shell from cannon, mortar and howitzer (over three hundred in all). At the end of the first day its brave commander, Colonel Samuel Smith, of the Maryland Line, but a native of the state of Pennsylvania, with his engineer officer Major Fleury, fell disabled. Lieutenant Treat, in charge of the artillery, was killed, with many others also wounded, and the defences and barracks were greatly damaged. The command then devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Russell of the Connecticut troops, who was succeeded the following day by the heroic Major Simeon Thayer of the Rhode Island Line, and who conducted the defence during the remainder of the siege. The best idea of the condition of affairs at the end of the first day's attack can probably be given from Varnum's brief dispatch to Washington, dated the 11th of November. He writes: "Capt. Samuel Treat was killed this morning; the enemy have battered down a great part of the stone wall." (This was the wall originally erected by Captain Montessor, who now superintended its destruction.) "The palisades and barracks are shattered. The enemy fire with twenty-four and thirty-two pounders. Colonel Smith is of opinion that the fort must be evacuated. A storm would not be dreaded,

but it appears impossible for the garrison to withstand point-blank shot." And in a second dispatch at midnight, he says: "I am, this moment, returned from Fort Mifflin. Every defence is almost destroyed. Poor Colonel Smith is on this shore (New Jersey) wounded. I have ordered the cannon least in use to be brought off, but have ordered the garrison to defend the fort, at all events, 'till your pleasure can be known, though they cannot hold out more than two days." Colonel Smith had reported to Varnum: "By tomorrow night everything will be levelled. Our block-houses next to the enemy are almost destroyed—the N. W. block has but one piece of cannot fit for service, one side of it is entirely fallen down. They have begun on that next Read's House, and dismounted two pieces; the palisades next the meadows are levelled; the small battery next the gate torn up, and another battery also. The wall is broke through in different places. In fine, should they storm, as I think, we must fall. However, as it is your opinion, *I will keep the garrison*, though I love mine and my soldiers' lives." And Major Fleury adds: "The cannon of all our block-houses are dismounted except two. Some of our palisades are broken, but we can mend them every night," as was done. He also reports: "The garrison is so exhausted by watch, cold, rain and fatigue that their courage is very low, and in the last alarm one-half was unfit for duty. The garrison is a heap of ruins."

Washington advised of the desperate state of affairs, now recommended to Varnum a diversion to relieve the garrison by a descent on the enemy's fortifications on Province Island, for the purpose of spiking their cannon and leveling their works there, which were the most destructive to Fort Mifflin, and that would, as he says, "considerably embarrass the enemy and gain us a great deal of time;" he still looking anxiously for the repeatedly urged-for re-inforcements from the Northern Army (for which he had sent Hamilton

in person to hasten), and without which he felt it hazardous to proceed in the extensive operations proposed against the enemy in Philadelphia.

It is impossible here, however, in a limited time and space, to follow, in detail, the account of this heroic defence day by day. Men, palisades, fascines, and even the earth necessary for the repair of the defences, had continually to be transported from the Jersey shore. The gallant defenders of the fort, consisting of a portion of a couple of regiments of the Maryland Line, fought on stubbornly day after day endeavoring, when these supplies failed, as Fleury writes in his journal, "to accomplish the impossible task of repairing the breaches in the works with *watery-mud alone*, to make them capable of resisting the shot from the enemy's thirty-two pounders."

The British had also now succeeded in driving back the gun-boats in the river after a faint-hearted resistance and establishing two floating batteries in the channel in the rear of the fort, between it and Carpenter's Island, and which threatened the speedy destruction of the entire garrison.

On the 14th, Varnum writes to Washington that it is impossible for him to make the desired attempt against Province Island, "having no troops but fatigued ones, and those in less force than the enemy's upon that place." Washington immediately issued orders to General Wayne in his own army (the man for the post of danger and on whom he never relied in vain) to take command of the relieving column, consisting of his own division and Morgan's corps, to proceed at once to Province Island and storm the enemy's lines, while the main army, having passed the Schuylkill, was to take post near the Middle Ferry (Market street) as a support. There has been some doubt expressed as to the apparent contradiction of authorities on this interesting point and whether such a movement was finally decided upon (for it was undoubtedly contemplated, as we have seen, by

the Commander-in-chief of the American Army); but I think it is perfectly clear, from both Washington's orders and General Wayne's positive statement in his letter to Richard Peters, the Secretary of War (dated November 18th), that such orders were actually issued, and preparations made for the expedition. "*I had given orders,*" states Washington, in his report to Congress on the 17th, "for the removal of the stores of the Army from the places before mentioned, viz: Easton, Bethlehem and Allentown, to Lebanon and other places in Lancaster county, which is, at any rate, more safe and convenient than where they were."* Had this proposed expedition been carried out, there is every reason to believe, from our knowledge of the leader and the plan proposed, it would have been successful and the fort would have been saved. Without apparently waiting for the long expected reinforcements from the north, Wayne proposed, he states, to make the attack on the enemy on the 16th, the very day following the evening on which the evacuation of Fort Mifflin took place. On such slender chances do the results of war often depend! General Nathaniel Greene reported only the day before the evacuation of the works, "the enemy are greatly discouraged by the fort's holding out so long, and it is the general opinion of the best of the citizens that the enemy will evacuate the city if the fort holds out till the middle of next week."

We also have excellent authority for stating that the British, notwithstanding their apparent success, had determined to abandon the attempt at reduction had the resistance of the Americans but continued a couple of days longer than it did, until they were advised of the condition of the fort by a deserter. But the garrison was exhausted. During the last one of the six days and nights of this memorable siege, over one thousand cannon shot were fired by the enemy,

*See report of Commander-in-chief to Congress, of November 17, 1778; also General Wayne's letter above cited.

until, as we have seen, not a palisade was left, the parapets were destroyed, the embrasures were ruined, the guns dismounted, and the barracks and block-houses burnt and leveled. Yet the gallant Thayer still remained faithfully at his post, though Colonel Smith crossing from Woodbury to the fort the night of the evacuation, reported it a heap of ruins to be defended only now with musketry in case of being stormed by the enemy. "When they do," he calmly adds, "*I presume they will succeed*; our great dependence must be their being too much *afraid* to storm." But the floating battery of the enemy, formerly the "Empress of Russia," now styled the "Vigilant," armed with eighteen twenty-four pounders, and which had been silenced by the garrison, had, on the 14th, once more gotten into a new and more favorable position in the rear of the fort and on the side where the defences were weakest, and with her ally (the "Fury,"), completely commanded the fort and its occupants at their guns. Lying within one hundred yards of the works, with an incessant fire from her cannon, as well as with hand grenades and musketry from the round-top, every man was killed who appeared upon the platforms in the fort, and in twenty-four hours thereafter Fort Mifflin, as a defensive work, virtually existed no longer. Of the garrison of 300 or more defenders, 250 were either killed or wounded. At midnight, on the 15th, every defence and shelter being swept away, the indomitable Thayer and the remainder of his gallant band, having sent early in the same evening all their wounded comrades in advance to Fort Mercer, abandoned the ruins, but with the American flag still flying over all, and leaving the fort in flames, by their light crossed the Delaware to the friendly shelter of Red Bank.

It was the most gallant defence yet seen during the Revolution, but Congress, by a strange, though not unusual oversight, while honoring Smith, Fleury and Hazlewood also,

gave no recognition whatever, for his heroism, to Thayer, of whom Colonel Smith wrote immediately after, in announcing the fall of the fort: "Major Thayer defended it *too* bravely;" and General Varnum said: "It was impossible for an officer to possess more merit than Major Thayer." General Knox said, in writing to Colonel Lamb, that "the fire, the last day of the attack, exceeded, by far, anything ever seen in America," and "that the defence was as gallant as is to be found in history." Washington, himself, in his communication to Congress on the 17th inst., reporting the loss of the fort, speaks in the same terms of deserved praise of the conduct, which, to use his own words, "does credit to the American army and will ever reflect the highest honor upon the officers and men of the garrison."

Communication was now opened between the British army and fleet and their investiture of six weeks was ended.

If I have devoted more attention to this particular portion of the defence of the Delaware, I certainly think you will agree with me that from all sides of the question it is justifiable, both by reason, in a military sense, of its importance and in its effect upon the occupation of Philadelphia, as well as in the clearing up, as I have endeavored to do, though in an imperfect way I fear, the apparent contradiction in the statements made hitherto regarding the reasons for the final abandonment of the movement ordered by Washington for the relief of the ever hereafter historic Fort Mifflin.

Events now rapidly succeeded each other. Five thousand British under Cornwallis were sent against Fort Mercer for a second attack. Leaving Philadelphia on the night of the 18th of November he crossed the Schuylkill at the Middle Ferry (which was, by the way, the only one available), and took the road to Chester, surprising an American picket at the Blue Bell tavern near Darby. Marching all night he reached Chester on the morning of the 19th, crossed the Delaware to Billingsport, "the enemy making no secret of

their intentions" (said Joseph Reed in a letter to Washington) "to attack Red Bank, and saying they would storm it that night if practicable." At Billingsport, Cornwallis united with another division of three thousand men under Sir Thomas Wilson, sent by Clinton from New York, and from this point, the fortifications of which had been effectually destroyed in the preceding month as related, after its evacuation by Colonel Bradford and his force of Philadelphia and New Jersey militia, the enemy's column took up its march for Fort Mercer, three miles above. Although Washington had sent General Greene down to Varnum's relief at Red Bank, as soon as he received news of this proposed attack, the latter did not deem it prudent to wait for the support hurrying toward him under Greene, Lafayette and Huntington, but abandoned his post and retreated in the direction of Haddonfield. Cornwallis marched up the river bank to Fort Mercer, dismantled the fort and destroyed the works on the 21st (one month after its gallant defence), and then proceeded to Gloucester where he encamped and fortified himself. When Greene and Huntington came up with Varnum, the advisability of attacking the British was considered, but abandoned, and after some slight skirmishes between the opposing forces Cornwallis returned to Philadelphia and the American troops rejoined the main army under Washington north of Philadelphia.

My informant of the Howell family from whom I have already quoted, gives her clear recollections of Lafayette, Count Pulaski and others, whose troops were quartered in the neighborhood of Haddonfield at this time. The former, Lafayette, she remembers as wearing quite an amount of jewelry, being very polite and affable, and appeared to be held in high esteem by both his officers and men. Though but a child she recollects his expressing himself as delighted with the gallantry displayed by the Americans in attacking and driving back a picket of three hundred British troops

near Haddonfield. Pulaski wore a green uniform and tight fitting buckskin breeches. He was a very fine horseman and frequently displayed his horsemanship by leaping his horse over a fence in front of her mother's house, and giving other exhibitions of his skill as a rider. But one more scene remained to be enacted in the local drama, and by a strange coincidence, in the same locality in which had occurred the first. The Delaware River was now fully open, and the American fleet which had assisted in the defence of both Forts Mifflin and Mercer, found itself in a *cul-de-sac*. Unable to maintain itself in its present position, in that both the forts named had been destroyed, equally unable to pass either up or down the river except under the guns of the British batteries; measures were taken for its relief in accordance with a council of war held at Fort Mercer prior to its evacuation by Generals St. Clair, Knox and De Kalb. Orders were given by Commodore Hazlewood to the different vessels to endeavor to escape up the Delaware by the first favorable wind, passing beyond the city and its batteries on the eastern or Jersey side. The attempt was made accordingly on the nights of the 19th and 20th of November. A portion of the fleet succeeded in escaping, but some of the vessels were grounded and driven ashore, while still others, including the greater portion of the Continental fleet, and the floating batteries, were unable to follow. The wind baffled them, they were exposed to a raking fire from the enemy, and opposite Gloucester Point they were finally set on fire and abandoned; seventeen vessels in all.

"I walked down to the wharf at four o'clock this morning" (is Robert Morton's entry in his diary for November 21st), "and seen all the American navy on fire, coming up with the flood tide and burning with the greatest fury. Some of them drifted within two miles of the town and were then

carried back by the ebb tide. They burned nearly five hours. Four of them blew up."

The defences of the Delaware were thus finally scattered to the winds. After a long and stubborn resistance the enemy had, for the time, full and undisputed possession of Philadelphia; congress had fled to the interior of the State and the broken battalions of the American army took up their march from their camps at White Marsh and in New Jersey, toward their eventual winter quarters at Valley Forge. Early in the following spring (May 8th) the remnant of the American navy lying anchored in the Delaware off Bristol and Bordentown, together with much private property located at these points, was burnt by a marauding column of the enemy under Colonel Maitland. By this disaster over forty vessels in all were destroyed, including the Continental frigates "Washington" and "Effingham," the "Montgomery" and a number of others, which, with care and watchfulness, might possibly have been saved from loss. Early in the beginning of the following month (June), and even before the arrival of the peace commissioners from England, Sir Henry Clinton, the successor to Howe in command (the latter having sailed for England on the 26th of May), had decided to evacuate the city, the occupation of which had been found both profitless and dangerous. Notification was given to the principal citizens to the like effect, so that "all those who could not safely remain might prepare for flight." Notice was also given "that all deserters from the American army who desired to be sent to England, would receive passage," and many availed themselves, it was said, of the opportunity. Three regiments of British troops were sent across the Delaware at Cooper's Ferry as an advance guard and encamped in the neighborhood of Gloucester. From that time until the 18th, the upper redoubts along the northern line of defence of the city were gradually evacuated and the forces withdrawn, a manœuvre

which was strongly condemned at the time by Montessor as hazardous to the rest of the army. On the day immediately preceding the evacuation the British fleet dropped down the river with some three thousand refugees on board, carrying with them all their possessions they could transport from the home of their lives, exiles forever, broken in fortune and most of them with no definite career for the future.

Early on the morning of the 18th of June, just one month after the dazzling pageant of the Mischianza, with the account of which also you are doubtless familiar, the main body of the British Army moved out of Philadelphia and proceeding down towards the "Neck" embarked for the opposite shore. By ten o'clock the rear-guard had crossed to Gloucester Point, three miles below Philadelphia; the city was finally abandoned to the advance of the American troops, who speedily took possession, following closely on the heels of the retiring foe and capturing the laggards, while the enemy's columns took up their march through the Jersey sands *enroute* for New York, followed by an immense wagon train it is said nearly twelve miles in length,—much of it carrying the belongings of those other refugees who had decided to accompany the army, and who, as they set out upon their journey, paused to take a last look across the Delaware at their former homes, but possibly only to see the gallant Allan McLane and his partisan troopers galloping through the streets of the now deserted city.

The British army, to quote from my previously cited informant, halted in Haddonfield two days to perfect its arrangements for continuing its march to New York. She speaks of her frequent opportunities of seeing this army and its distinguished commander, Sir Henry Clinton, with his generals, Lord Cornwallis and Sir William Erskine, who rode abreast at the head of the columns as they marched out of the town. The officers were resplendent in gold lace, trimmings and facings, and the men made a fine appearance,

in her eyes, arrayed in scarlet uniforms and white gaiters buttoned above their knees. She was much impressed with the appearance of the Scotch Highlanders as a body of fine, tall and powerful men, dressed in their plaids, kilts and bonnets. While the army halted one of the Highland officers was quartered at her mother's house. He made a great pet of the little girl, allowing her to put on her head his velvet bonnet with its handsome drooping plumes, and dance up and down the room. She recollects that her mother had a long and earnest discussion with this officer, and it is her strong impression that he deplored the war against the colonies. The horses of the army were turned in the fields of standing grain; the wheat at the time being ripe for the sickle. Discipline was well preserved, however, among the men, and everything was conducted with the strictest military precision; even the pewter plates, knives and forks she remembers seeing washed and scoured till they shone, and then packed carefully away after each meal ready for instant departure.

Washington had lost no time in pushing into Philadelphia, the city being re-occupied by a detachment of the American forces the day following the evacuation by the British, and Arnold placed in command. The main army under the Commander-in-chief pressed forward rapidly in pursuit of the retreating enemy, crossing the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry and coming up with the British on the 27th. Over-taken in his retreat, and finding his march impeded, Clinton turned and made his preparations for defence; only, however, to meet, at the hands of Washington and his pursuing patriot army, on the morrow, and but ten days after the evacuation of Philadelphia, with crushing defeat and disaster on the glorious battle field of MONMOUTH!

MATTHIAS AND JOHN HOLLENBACK'S LIST OF LOSSES BY THE INDIANS, &c.*

A list of effects which the subscribers lost when the Indians made
an Incursion on Westmoreland County, in the State of Connecticut, in
the month of July, 1778.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1 Dwelling House with a large kitchen, . . .	400	0	0	4 large sows with pigs, . .	4	8	0
1 ditto,	30	0	0	1 year old barrow, . . .	1	0	0
1 Pair of large oxen, . .	16	0	0	1 Gun,	1	16	0
1 Pair ditto,	12	0	0	1 Pan and copper Fry kettle,	1	0	0
1 odd ox,	8	0	0	1 large Iron kettle, . . .	2	0	0
1 pair of 4 year old steers,	10	0	0	1 small " "	0	15	0
1 " " 3 " " " . . .	9	0	0	3 Large Iron pots, . . .	3	0	0
1 cow,	4	0	0	30 small " "	11	0	0
1 plow iron and clevises, .	3	0	0	1½ bbls. salted Shad, . .	3	12	0
1 ox chain,	0	12	0	1 Foot [spinning] wheel, 1 large do.,	1	10	0
1 pair wedges and small rings,	0	10	0	8000 feet of Pine boards, .	16	0	0
1 ten plate stove with a long pipe,	10	0	0	20 barrel casks,	4	0	0
1 cutting box and knife, .	1	0	0	2 bbls. vinegar,	3	0	0
3 Feather beds,	12	0	0	1 coat and 2 waist-coats, .	7	0	0
4 bedsteads with cords, .	3	0	0	2½ yds. blue cloth with Trimming,	8	0	0
2 black walnut Tables, . .	3	0	0	1 pr. knit pattern breeches,	1	10	0
6 Flagbottomed chairs, . .	1	16	0	1 silver watch,	5	0	0
1 chest with lock and hinges	1	0	0	10 bushels Rye,	1	10	0
30 lbs. tenpenny nails, . .	1	10	0	2 acres oats,	2	0	0
30 " shingle " . . .	3	0	0	1 pr. silver buckles, . . .	1	10	0
10 dollars hard cash, . .	3	0	0	1 " boots,	1	0	0
200 " Continental do., according to scale, .	19	0	0	300 ft. walnut boards, . .	1	4	0
	£554	8	0		£636	3	0
				Half the damage done to two sawmills,	35	0	0

*Endorsement on the back in the handwriting of Matthias Hollenback; the list appears to be in the hand of John Hollenback; not signed by any person.

THE FRENCH AT ASYLUM.

BY REV. DAVID CRAFT, D. D.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY 14, 1898.

The various attempts of the French people to plant colonies on this continent is a chapter of great enterprise, of heroic self-denial, of marvelous patience and perseverance, of bright promise in the beginning, and of dismal failure in the end. The bold attempt of Champlain and other French governors in Canada to extend French rule, the patient toil and untold suffering of Jogues and other Jesuit priests in their almost futile efforts to christianize the Indians two-and-a-half centuries ago, have but few parallels of patient endurance and self-sacrifice in the world's history. The conspicuous failure of the attempt of Coligny to plant a colony in Florida is familiar to all readers of American history.

This paper is devoted to a brief account of another experiment to plant a French colony on American soil, not for the purpose of territorial aggrandizement to the Home Government, nor for the acquisition of wealth, but to found an Asylum where their fellow countrymen, expatriated from their native country for political opinions, could find home and refuge in peace and safety.

The American Revolution of 1776 was the first successful revolt of colonies in the New World against the Home Government in the Old, the beginning of the end of foreign domination on this continent, now almost completed. The two European governments most affected by this revolution were Great Britain, whose authority was overthrown, and France, her hereditary enemy, who seeing an opportunity to weaken the power of her rival and cripple her resources, sent liberal supplies of men and money to aid the struggling colonies in achieving their independence. After the close

of the war many of these French soldiers returned to their homes deeply imbued with the ideas of political freedom which they had learned in our struggle to acquire it, and soon the words "*Liberty*," "*Independence*" and "*Fraternity*," became as familiar in France as they had been in America. The representatives of the new nation of the west were received in Paris with great enthusiasm, and Franklin, Adams, Jefferson and Washington were names as well known and as greatly revered in France as in America. When in the last decade of the last century France was swept by that political whirlwind known as the "French Revolution," America was the asylum and resting-place toward which loyalist and conservative turned with longing hope for shelter and safety. Many, foreseeing what was likely to come, fled from France, some going to England, some to the French colony on the island of Hayti, and others to the United States. It has been estimated that no less than seventy thousand of the nobility, and a much larger number of loyalists escaped from France at this period, many of them at great peril, and all at great trouble and sacrifice, for they left behind them all their estates which were subsequently confiscated by the revolutionary government, and in many instances their families, and fled for their lives.

As early as 1630 a colony of French had obtained a footing on the northwest coast of Hayti. By the treaty of Ryswick, 1697, about one-third of the island was ceded to France, and called San Domingo [St. Dominique], which, at the time of the French Revolution, had attained great prosperity. Hither many of the refugees from France fled. The population consisted largely of free blacks and of slaves upon the plantations, who, in ratio to the whites, were about as sixteen to one. The watchwords "*Liberty*," "*Fraternity*," "*Independence*," which had so thrilled the hearts of French bourgeois in the streets of Paris, found a responsive echo in the aspirations of the slaves of San Do-

mingo. Insurrection followed. Under the leadership of Toussaint l'Overture the revolution was successful, and many of the French planters, escaping from their wrecked plantations, fled to the United States, where they joined the refugees from the mother country. Some of them had friends here, others on the ground of the kindly public sentiment at that time prevailing in this country toward France for her aid in achieving our independence, cast themselves upon the liberality of several of our public men, as they were without means of support and helpless to secure any. What to do with these impoverished and improvident gentlemen and their families, who had been accustomed to lives of luxury and ease, became a very serious question. Among the more prominent of these refugees were the Viscount Louis Marie de Noailles and the Marquis Antoine Omer Talon. They, in consultation with John Keating, an Irishman by birth, formerly having large interests in San Domingo, but then a Philadelphia merchant, and becoming an extensive owner in Pennsylvania wild lands, and with Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, and with John Nicholson, also a Philadelphia merchant and land speculator, entered into an association in which these five, Noailles, Talon, Keating, Morris and Nicholson were the partners, called the "Asylum Land Company," whose plan contemplated a stock consisting of a million acres of uncultivated land, and a certain sum of money, should afford these refugees a place of settlement, aid them in purchasing land as they could acquire the means for its cultivation. The land for which they secured warrants of survey from the State, extended southwesterly from the Susquehanna at Standing Stone, through Bradford and Sullivan counties into Lycoming.

Of Messrs. Noailles and Talon whose public services, as well as their prominence in promoting the Asylum settle-

ment, have given them considerable conspicuity, a brief sketch will here be given.

The Viscount de Noailles, called, generally, by our people "The Count," born in Paris April 17, 1756, was the second son of Philippe de Noailles, Duke of Mouchy, a Marshal of France and soldier of some renown, guillotined June 27, 1794. The Viscount, whose wife was sister to the wife of General Lafayette, was bred to the profession of arms, and was remarkable for his knowledge of military tactics, and the high degree of discipline acquired by the troops of his command, so that he was considered one of the best colonels of his time. He came to the United States in 1779 to assist the Americans in the war for independence, and was among the most distinguished of the young French officers in the army of Washington, by whom he was, a number of times, complimented for his bravery in general orders. At the battle of Yorktown, 1781, he was commissioned to receive on the part of the French the surrender of Cornwallis and negotiate the terms of capitulation.

On the conclusion of peace he returned to France, where, as a reward for his services, he was offered a promotion which he refused. "At the epoch of the Revolution he accepted its principles, and was counted among the most zealous defenders of the popular cause." He was a deputy of the nobility to the States General, May, 1789, from the bailiwick of Nemours, and subsequently a member of the National Assembly, where, on the 4th of August, that year, he proposed those celebrated acts by which the whole Feudal system, with its long train of abuses and privileges, was abolished. He exerted a powerful influence in military affairs, and was active in the re-organization of the army and colonel of the regiment of the Chasseurs d'Alsace, and Field Marshal commanding at Sedan. At length, in common with all true Republicans, he fell under the displeasure of Robespierre, by whom he was condemned to death and

his property confiscated. He resigned his command May, 1792, and fled to England, thence came to the United States, and took up his residence in Philadelphia, where his former active service in the American Revolution brought him into intimate relation with the leading men of the country.

In his "Journal of an Excursion to the U. S. of N. A. in the Summer of 1794," Mr. Wansey thus alludes to the Viscount. Under date of June 8, he says: "I dined this day with Mr. Bingham, to whom I had a letter of introduction. * * * There dined with us Mr. Willing, President of the Bank of the United States, the father of Mrs. Bingham, Monsieur Callot, the exiled governor of Guadaloupe, and the famous Viscount de Noailles, who distinguished himself so much in the first National Constituent Assembly on August 4, 1789, by his five propositions, and his speech on that occasion for the abolition of feudal rights. He is now engaged in forming a settlement with his unfortunate countrymen about sixty-five miles north of Northumberland town. It is called '*Asylum*,' and stands on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna. His lady, the sister of Madame LaFayette,* with his mother and grandmother, were all guillotined, without trial, by that arch-villain Robespierre." In company with Mr. Talon he succeeded in establishing the Asylum colony, and was a prominent share-holder in the Asylum Company. On the accession of Napoleon his estates were restored to him and he returned to France and re-entered the military service in 1803 with the rank of Brigadier General, and accepted a command under Rochambeau in San Domingo. He was mortally wounded in an engagement with an English corvette off the coast of Cuba, January 9, 1804. His soldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, encased his heart in a silver box which they attached to their flag.

*The escape of Madame LaFayette has been lately detailed with great vividness by Anna L. Bicknell, in the *Century Magazine*, October and November, 1897.

The above was furnished me by the late Marquis Emanuel Henri V. de Noailles, who, at one time, represented the French government at Washington, supplemented by extracts from the *Biographie Universelle*, Paris, and *Century Dictionary* of names.

Omer Talon was born in Paris, January 20, 1760 (one authority says 1740), of one of the most illustrious families of the French magistracy. At the age of sixteen he was accepted as an advocate, and was civil-lieutenant, or advocate-general, at the Châtelet [châ-t-lè] when the revolution of 1789 broke out, and where he did his duty as a just and courageous magistrate, and was distinguished for his fearless and unflinching defence of the royal prerogative. For this he was accused and imprisoned, but the accusations against him could not be sustained and he was discharged. He was appointed deputy substitute from Chartres to the National Assembly, but never took his seat. The next year he was compromised in the flight of Louis XVI, arrested and imprisoned for a month, when he was released. He then became one of the faithful advisers of the king, with whom he held frequent conferences, always at night, and labored earnestly to attach powerful and influential friends to the royal cause. It is known that the unfortunate monarch contemplated appointing him keeper of the Privy Seal, but was so bitterly opposed by some who were in close alliance with the crown that he desisted. The king, however, as a mark of personal friendship and confidence, presented him with his portrait, with this autograph inscription: "Given by the King to M. Talon, Sept. 7, 1791." He was again compromised by a letter found in the famous "Iron Chest," and ordered to be arrested by the Revolutionary Assembly. He managed to keep himself secreted from the police for several months, part of the time in Paris, and part of the time at Havre, until his friends finding an American ship about to sail for the United States, he was put into a

large cask, carried on board and secreted in the hold of the vessel until out to sea, when he was released from confinement. In Philadelphia he kept open house for his distressed countrymen, and when the settlement at Asylum had been determined on, he became one of its active promoters, and the general manager of the business there. He returned to France under the Directory, when, in 1804, he was engaged in a royalistic plot, for which he was transported to the Isle St. Marguerite, and did not obtain his liberty until 1807. His mind began to fail under the pressure of repeated privations and disappointments, and he died at Grez, August 18, 1811, in the fifty-second year of his age.

In order to find a suitable place for the proposed settlement, M. Charles Felix Bui Boulogne, who could speak English well, and Major Adam Hoops, then residing at Westchester, Pa., who had been an officer on General Sullivan's staff when on his expedition against the Indians in 1779, and familiar with the Susquehanna valley from Wilkes-Barre to the state line, were sent up the river on a tour of observation. Under date of August 8, 1793, Robert Morris addressed the following letter to Matthias Hollenback of Wilkes-Barre, Mr. Dunn of Newton [Elmira, N. Y.], and Messrs. Tower & Co. of Northumberland, and to any other persons to whom "Mr. Boulogne, Mr. Adam Hoops, and the gentlemen in their company may apply," saying: "Should Mr. Boulogne find it necessary to purchase provisions or other articles in your neighborhood for the use of himself and his company, I beg that you will assist him therein, or should you supply him yourself and take his drafts on this place, you may rely that they will be paid, and I hold myself accountable. Any services it may be in your power to render this gentleman or his companions I shall be thankful for." From an endorsement on the copy found among Judge Hollenback's papers it would appear that the party was in Wilkes-Barre the 27th of August, 1793.

The plain called "Shewfeldt's Flats," containing about two thousand acres, lying on the right bank of the Susquehanna opposite the mouth of Rummerfeld creek, was fixed upon as a suitable site for the settlement. The soil for the most part is good, the place one of great natural beauty. The river, with a beautiful curve, sweeps majestically down on two sides, while on the other two the hills are high and steep, shutting in the plain like the floor of a vast amphitheatre. It was included in the Susquehanna Company's township of Standing Stone, but called sometimes Shawsboro, sometimes Wooster. Among the German Palatinates who emigrated from the "Mohawk country" in New York and settled along the Tulpehocken in Pennsylvania in the early years of the last century, Rudolph Fox stopped on Towanda Flats, Anthony Rummerfeldt on the creek which bears his name, and Peter Shewfeldt on the opposite flats. Finding an adverse title to his lands, Shewfeldt removed to the West Branch, where he was killed in one of the Indian raids upon that country.

Prior to the Revolutionary war the Susquehanna Company had surveyed lots on both sides of the river. Simon Spalding and Henry Birney had made settlements in Standing Stone, and Justus Gaylord, Perrin Ross, James Forsyth and perhaps others were occupying lands on Shewfeldt's flats. In August, 1793, when the place was visited by the French explorers, they found there were eight lots of three hundred acres each, occupied by the New England people, as follows: next the river on the north, No. 21, was Robert Alexander, while his son Robert held the island. Charles Townley had the next two lots on the south, Nos. 19 and 20; next, another lot of Robert Alexander, No. 18; then Adelphi, son of Perrin Ross, deceased, No. 17; then the Forsyth lot, which had been sold at sheriff's sale to Rosewell Welles, and by him conveyed to Ebenezer Skinner, who then was living on it, No. 16; the heirs of

Robert Cooley, No. 15, while one of the sons of the elder Justus Gaylord held the lot on the southern end of the plain, No. 14. At this time it will be remembered land titles through all of northern Pennsylvania were in great uncertainty, and questions relating to them were before the legislature and courts of the state for adjustment. In order to obtain an unquestionable title to the land it was deemed advisable to secure both the Connecticut and Pennsylvania claim. The former was entrusted to Judge Hollenback, who was personally acquainted with the parties, and the latter was undertaken by Mr. Morris. The colonists also depended on Mr. Hollenback to cash their drafts and Bills of credit, and to procure for them nearly all of their supplies. The matter of first consideration was to extinguish all claims and secure an undisputed title to the lands they had selected. The following full abstracts of a long letter written by Mr. Morris to Judge Hollenback, under date of October 9, 1793, will throw light on this part of the transaction. He says : "Messrs. De Noailles and Talon desire to make the purchase of the eight lots or tracts that compose the tract of land called the Standing Stone, and also the island or islands which they mentioned to you, but they will have all or none; this they insist on as an absolute condition, as you will see by a copy of their observations on nine articles extracted from the contents of your letter to Mr. Talon. They do not object to the prices or terms of payment stated in your letter, but you will perceive, by their decision, to have all or none, that it will be necessary to make conditional contracts with each of the parties, fixing the terms and binding them to grant conveyances of their rights upon the performance of the conditions by you on your part, but reserving to yourself, for a reasonable time, the right to make the bargain valid or to annul it. If you can get the whole of them under such covenants under hands and seals, you can then make the whole valid, and proceed to perform

the conditions and take the conveyances in the name of Mr. Talon, but should any of the parties refuse to sell, or rise in their demands so that you cannot comply with them, you can, in such case, hold the rest in suspense until Mr. Hoops or you send an express to inform me of all particulars, which will give my friends an opportunity to consider and determine finally.

"Mr. Adam Hoops will deliver this letter. He possesses my confidence, and will be glad to render the best assistance or service in his power upon occasion. He must, however, act under you, for in any other character the Connecticut men would consider him a new purchaser and rise in their demands. He will go with you, if you choose, or do anything you may desire to accomplish the object in view. You and he will, therefore, consult together as to the best mode of proceeding, and I must observe, that altho' Mr. Talon has agreed to the prices and terms demanded by the Connecticut claimants, I cannot help thinking them very dear; and more so, as we have been obliged to purchase the Pennsylvania title, which Mr. Hoops will inform you of. I hold it then as incumbent on you to obtain the Connecticut rights upon the cheapest terms that is possible, and you may, with very great propriety, let them know, if you think it best to do so, that unless they will be content with reasonable terms, that we will bring ejectment against them, or rather that you will do it, and try the strength of Title, in which case they will get nothing. Whatever you do must be done soon. Winter is approaching, and these Gentlemen are exceedingly anxious to commence the operations necessary to the settlement they intend to make, but they will not strike a stroke until the whole of the lots are secured for them, and, unless the whole are obtained, they give up the settlement and will go to some other part of America.

"I engage to make good the agreements and contracts you

may enter into consistently with your letter of the 14th of September last to Mr. Talon, and with his observations thereon, a copy of which Mr. Hoops will give to you if desired, and to enable you to make the payments according to those stipulations which you may enter into in that respect, I shall also pay the order for a Thousand Dollars already given you on their account. The settlement which these gentlemen meditate at the Standing Stone is of great importance to you, therefore you ought, for your own interest, and the interest of your country, to exert every nerve to promote it. They will be of great service to you, and you should render them disinterestedly every service possible. Should they fail of establishing themselves at the Standing Stone, there is another part of Pennsylvania which I should prefer for them, and if they go there, I will do anything for them that I possibly can."

Mr. Hollenback heartily entered into the plans of Mr. Morris and his friends. With much tact and patience he secured the Connecticut titles of the settlers on the ground. The imperfect manner in which conveyances were at that time often written, and the frequent neglect of placing them on record, makes it now impossible to know just how much Mr. Hollenback was obliged to become responsible for in the purchase. The prices varied from £300 to £50 Pennsylvania currency or from \$800 to \$133. The eight lots at the lowest figure would cost more than \$2000. One thing is certain, as late as August 10, 1814, the Asylum Company owed him for a large part of the money advanced by him, because the Company had no means to pay the notes he had given for the lots purchased for them. Of the sum he had thus advanced he reminds the company in a letter of the the above date he had received \$648.60, which was but a small part of what was due him; that while willing to give his time and trouble, he thought that as the Company was

fast selling their lands he ought to be paid for the money advanced.

I have been unable to learn anything about the Pennsylvania title to Asylum. The place of settlement having been determined and the titles secured, Mr. Boulogne purchased, early in October, the possession of Simon Spalding, a man of considerable prominence in this valley during the Revolutionary war, who had before the war made a settlement on the lower part of present Standing Stone, but after settled at Sheshequin, and at once began to make preparations to receive the colonists. In addition to the clearings made and houses built by the former settlers, much had to be done. Trees were felled, clearings made, the town plat was surveyed, carpenters, masons and laborers were employed in the erection of houses, fences were built, and the general work of clearing and fitting up the ground was carried on as fast as the fine autumn weather would permit. The following letter from Mr. Boulogne to Judge Hollenback, by the hand of Joseph C. Town of Wyalusing, and who erected the first saw-mill on Wyalusing creek, under date October 19, 1793, from Standing Stone, affords a glimpse of the activities at Asylum at this time. He writes:

"I received by Mr. Town the favors of yours dated the 11th instant, and your boat also arrived here a few days after. All that was enumerated in your bill of lading hath been delivered, and you are therefore credited on my account of £48.10.2, this currency, when you'll send me the price of the ox-cart, cows and Bell, I shall do the same.

"The cows are exceeding poor, and hardly give any milk, but I hope they will come to, and therefore we will see one another on that account, but I cannot help observing to you that your blacksmith hath not treated us well; the chains and tools are hardly worth anything. The iron is so bad or so tender that it breaks like butter. I wish you to mention it to him for the future. The difficulty of having the

buildings and many articles of provisions in proper time hath determined us and the gentlemen in Philadelphia to lessen them, and as Mr. Keating hath told you, the expenses of course will be lessened; therefore I have not sent you the draft of 3000 dollars which we spoke of when I was in Wilkes-Barre, and one [d'Autremont] of the gentlemen who will deliver you this letter is going to Philadelphia, and if you are not gone will be very glad of your company—will, as well as you, see Mr. Talon and de Noailles in that city and send or bring their answer on things relating to the expenses.

“I will be obliged to you to deliver to the other gentleman, who is coming back here directly, as much money as you possibly can, or the 1250 dollars which remain in your hands for my drafts on Robert Morris, Esqr., and you'd take his receipt and charge it to my account.

“You may also make me debtor for the sum of £13.7.6 which Mr. Joshua Whitney hath given me for your account and of which you'll dispose according to the note herein enclosed, having credited you here of the same.

“Esqr. Hancock hath not yet concluded his Bargain with Gaylord and Skinner; you know it is of the greatest importance to have it concluded, as well as the use of Ross, otherwise it will stop me here all at once; the gentlemen in Philadelphia being determined to have the whole or none at all, or to reject the whole purchase from Mr. Morris. In your letter you speak to me of having bought from Mr. Ross the house and part of the land, but you don't tell me the quantity of land. I hope you have concluded the whole, and beg on you to say something to me on that account in your letter, and explain it well, because according to your answer I shall either go on with the buildings or stop them directly.

“In buying from Mr. Ross you must absolutely buy the crop which is in the ground. Everybody here is sorry you

had not done it so for the other purchase, because it keeps us one year entirely without enjoying our property. I have received the cloth that was over Mr. Talon's boat, but you have forgot to send me by your boat the frying-pan, salt, axes, &c., that Mr. Ross hath return to you; be also kind enough to send by the first opportunity the sack of things belonging to Michael, which by mistake I left or sent at your house."

From the phrase "everybody here" in the above letter it may be inferred that Mr. Boulogne was accompanied by some of his countrymen; if so, their names have not been found.

On the 13th of November the Viscount de Noailles visited the settlement and remained two or three days. While here the plan of the town was fixed upon, and it received the name of Asylum, which it has ever since retained. The plain on which the village was built is nearly a parallelogram whose longer side is north and south, its north and east sides being bounded by the river. Five streets were laid out running due north and south, next to the westerly one being the present road from the house of Mrs. B. Laporte to the Hagerman place. These were crossed at right angles by nine other streets, each street being fifty feet in width. Near the center of the plat was an open square about one hundred and forty by seventy rods, containing about sixty acres. The farms of Laporte, Gordon and Miller corner upon this square. On the plat were surveyed four hundred and thirteen house lots of about one acre each, the most eligible of which were on the northernmost east and west street, which has since been washed away by the river. There were also surveyed on the west and adjoining the town plat seventeen lots of five acres each, and fifteen lots of ten acres each, which were called town lots. In addition there were purchased of the Asylum Company, by subscription, one hundred thousand acres on the Loyal Sock

Creek, twenty-five thousand of which (sixty warrants) were divided into lots of four hundred acres each, called town shares, of which, when any part was cleared and enclosed with a fence by a subscriber, he received nine dollars per acre out of a common fund.

Mr. Boulogne was bending all of his energies to get houses in readiness for the emigrants in the early spring. In this he was greatly favored by the fine open weather which continued until near Christmas. The houses were mostly two stories in height, built of hewed logs, with cellar, and roofed with shingles. Trees were felled, timber hewed, cellars dug and walled, employing a large number of masons, carpenters and day laborers, many of whom were sent up from Wilkes-Barre, while much of their supplies, including provisions and building material, were procured by Judge Hollenback and sent up the river on Durham boats. The distance is about seventy-five miles, and it required four or five days to make the trip. Ignorance of our language and methods of business, scarcity of money in circulation, which sometimes caused delay in cashing drafts and bills of credit, the considerable distance from their base of supplies, all caused unavoidable delays, misunderstandings and vexations. It is not surprising that a little disappointment and petulance even sometimes should manifest itself. In one of his letters to Mr. Hollenback, in which he expresses disappointment in not receiving all the money he expected, Mr. Boulogne says: "I believe that I ought to know on what ground I am to stand, particularly having business with so many hands from all quarters for work, and being determined to take no engagements that I could not fulfill."

On the 30th of November Mr. Boulogne writes: "Mr. Dupetit Thouars with all his hands arrived here yesterday, and also Mr. Periault." Of how many the party consisted we are not told, but that the houses were not ready for them is certain, for in a letter to Mr. Hollenback he is asked

to send up a number of Franklin stoves with pipe, since the weather had been so cold the masons could not build chimneys ; also window frames, seasoned lumber, nails, hinges, &c. Aristide Aubert Du-petit Thouars, or the "Admiral," the name by which he was most frequently known by the people about Asylum, was in many respects the most remarkable man in the settlement. He was born in 1760, educated in the military school of Paris, and became Post captain in the French army. Of a frank and generous disposition, and fond of adventure, he was very popular with his companions at school and in arms. He was in the French naval service during a war with England, and after the peace was engaged in cruises to England and elsewhere. Later he became greatly interested in the fate of the missing navigator, La Prerouse, and at great personal expense and sacrifice, he fitted out an expedition to find the unfortunate adventurers. He sailed in September, 1792, but had hardly begun his voyage when a fatal malady broke out among his men and carried off a third of them, which determined him to put into the nearest harbor—the island of Ferdinand de Noronha. Here the Portuguese seized his vessel, arrested and sent him a prisoner to Lisbon, where he underwent a captivity of some duration. Immediately on his release he came to America, when, being acquainted with M. de Noailles, he was induced to come to Asylum. His fine spirit, genial temper, benevolent disposition and chivalrous bearing made him beloved and respected by all who knew him. None of the French people are so well remembered, and of none are so many anecdotes related as of the "Admiral." While at Asylum he was the guest of Mr. Talon. Disdaining to be the idle recipient of his host's bounty, at his request a lot of four hundred acres of land, where the present borough of Dushore now stands, was assigned to him. Single-handed literally (he had lost an arm in an attack upon a pirate ship) and alone, several miles beyond any other

clearing, in a dense unbroken wilderness, near what has since been called the Frenchman's spring, he built his shanty and commenced his plantation. A number of years afterward, the late Hon. C. F. Welles of Wyalusing, in company with Mr. John Mozier, the owner of the tract, discovering his clearing and knowing the history of this remarkable man and his courageous enterprise, suggested "Dushore," the common pronunciation of the Admiral's name by Americans, as an appropriate name for the new village then just springing up, a name which it has ever since borne.

Among the numerous anecdotes related of Du-petit Thouars the following are characteristic: Returning one day from his woodland home when on the top of the mountain overlooking Asylum he met a man nearly naked, who told him he had just escaped from captivity among the Indians, whereupon the Admiral gave him his only shirt, buttoned his coat to conceal the loss, and returned to M. Talon's. At tea that evening, the room being very warm, the Admiral was in a profuse perspiration; it was suggested that he would be more comfortable if he unbuttoned his coat. Thanking his host for his attention, with true French politeness he protested that he was only comfortable—too proud to expose his poverty and too modest to tell of his benevolence. His want was soon discovered and supplied in a way to save him from mortification. Too proud to speak of his need of better apparel, his sensitiveness was respected by some one entering his room after he had retired, and quietly exchanged the worn articles for better ones to which no allusion was made. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld de Liancourt returned from his visit to Asylum via Niagara Falls, accompanied by Messrs. Blacons and Du-petit-Thouars, the former on horseback, the latter on foot, protesting all the time that he much preferred this to riding, simply because he was too high-spirited to wish to appear to be dependent upon others. On the revocation

of the decree of expatriation against the "emerges," he was among the first to return to France, and was strongly recommended by the most noted naval captains for a place in the French navy. It is said of him that when he presented himself before the Minister of Marine to receive his commission, the Minister said to him: "You have but one hand, you ought to go on the retired, not on the active list." Dupetit-Thouars, proudly rising and stretching forth the handless stump, replied: "True, sir, I have given one hand for France, and here is another for her service." He received his commission. When the expedition to Egypt was proposed, he was placed in command of "Le Tonnant," an old vessel of eighty guns. Having reached its destination, the fleet was unwisely, and against the judgment of Dupetit-Thouars, detained in the roadstead of Aboukir. He fought with great bravery against the already victorious enemy, and fell just at the close of the engagement, August 1, 1798.

On the 9th of December Mr. Talon arrived at Asylum and took charge of affairs there, although for some time Mr. Boulogne carried on the correspondence. Workmen continued to arrive until the 23d, when the weather became so severe that all operations were suspended until the following spring. Several buildings were completed except chimneys, and for these were substituted Franklin stoves and pipe, so that the winter was spent in them with some comfort. Mr. Talon had sent to Catawissa a considerable quantity of supplies for the settlement, to be brought up from there by boat. The lateness of the season and the amount of ice in the river created great anxiety in the minds of the settlers lest the goods would be retained until spring or lost altogether, which was removed a few days later when the boats containing them arrived safely at Asylum.

With the opening spring active business was renewed at Asylum, navigation was resumed on the Susquehanna, and the emigrants who had been spending the winter in Phila-

delphia began to arrive. Of these some were of noble birth, several had been connected with the king's household, a few belonged to the secular clergy, *i. e.*, had not assumed monastic vows, some were soldiers, others were keepers of cafés, merchants and gentlemen; few, if any, belonged to the laboring class, and none were agriculturists. They were Parisians by birth, had spent their lives in the city, were accustomed to its ease and its luxuries, but knew nothing about clearing land, nor of the hardships, toil and privation to which the early settler in a new country is exposed. It must have been a sad sight as these French gentlemen looked for the first time upon their wilderness home. The rude log house with its narrow quarters, half hidden in the woods, the small clearing on which the stumps were still standing, no roads but a log path for oxen and sled, must have presented a strong contrast to these city-bred gentlemen and ladies to the luxurious homes to which they had been accustomed. No sooner, however, were they settled in their new homes than they set about to improve their land and make themselves comfortable. They did not stop in simply providing for present necessities, and voluntarily subjecting themselves to some inconveniences; they expended their means lavishly for improvements which never contributed to their welfare, and a style of living which was for them exceedingly expensive, and surrounded themselves with many of the luxuries which they had formerly enjoyed.

The Asylum Land Company, which had been formed the previous autumn, was now more fully organized, and "Articles of Association" were entered into under date April 22, 1794, between Robert Morris, on behalf of himself and others, his associates, of one part, and John Nicholson, on behalf of himself and others, his associates, of the other part. The object is declared to be the "settling and improving one or more tracts of country within the State of

Pennsylvania," to which they had acquired title. The affairs of the company were to be controlled by a Board of Managers, the lands surveyed and agents appointed to secure their settlement. It will be remembered that at this time there was a perfect craze of speculation in Pennsylvania wild lands, and men, some of whom were the leading spirits of this company, were embarking all their means and all their credit in the purchase of lands from the State. They thought they saw here fabulous sums of money to be secured, but instead lost all. The one million acres of which the capital stock of the company consisted was divided into five thousand shares of two hundred acres each.

A year later, April 25, 1795, Nicholson having purchased the interest of Mr. Morris in the company, new articles of association were formed by which the title to the lands was vested in two or more trustees chosen by the Board of Managers, who were John Nicholson, Louis M. de Noailles, William Hammond and James Gibson. The capital stock and number of shares remained unchanged, further purchases of land were prohibited, and an annual dividend of thirty dollars per share was guaranteed to each proprietor. Jared Ingersoll and Matthew Clarkson, both of Philadelphia, were chosen trustees under this arrangement.

The company did not prove to be as successful as anticipated. The dividends which were to arise from the sale of the land could not be paid. Aside from Messrs. Morris and Nicholson only two thousand shares, representing four hundred thousand acres, had been taken October 26, 1801, when the company was again reorganized on account "of the inability of Robert Morris and the late John Nicholson to perform their covenants therein contained, arising from pecuniary embarrassments and judgments obtained against them." September 1, 1808, Mr. Clarkson having deceased, at a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Company, the surviving trustee, Mr. Ingersoll, was directed to convey the

trusteeship to Archibald McCall, John Ashley and Thomas Ashley in trust for the use of Asylum Company. This trust deed, conveying all and singular, the lands, tenements, hereditaments forming the common stock of funds of the said Asylum Company, wherever situated, was executed November 3, 1808. As the country covered by the company's lands began to be settled much of them were sold. On the 4th of March, 1843, the residue of their lands, consisting of from ten to twenty thousand acres, was sold to Hon. William Jessup of Montrose, who subsequently conveyed the same to Michael Meylert of LaPorte, the title to some of which is held by the trustees of his estate.

Mr. Boulogne had obtained the agency for the sale of a large tract of land (15,360 acres) on the Chenango river, a few miles above Binghamton, N. Y., at a place called the "Butternutts," which he undertook to dispose of to French emigrants to the United States. Madam Marie Jeane d'Ohet d'Autremont, whose husband, a pronounced royalist, had been guillotined by the Revolutionists in Paris, entered with some others into contract with Mr. Boulogne at Paris, March 27, 1792, for several thousand acres of this land, and soon after sailed for this country, where, September 12, 1792, Mr. Boulogne executed to them a deed for the land, and she with her three sons—Louis Paul, aged 22, Alexander Hubert, aged 16, and Augustus Francois Cecile, aged 9, and with her brother-in-law, Antoine Bartolemy Louis LeFever, and W. Brevost, went upon the purchase. Log houses were built and eight families moved upon this tract in the autumn. Here their surroundings were exceedingly unpleasant. Their houses were built in thick woods where not even a corn patch was cleared. An Indian reservation near by brought them into a very undesirable neighborhood, while all of their provision had to be carried up from Chenango Point, a distance of several miles. To add to the discomfort of their situation the title to their land was

called in question, which later they either abandoned or sold for a song. After the settlement at Asylum was begun, it was visited, October 18th, 1793, by Mr. Louis d'Autremont on his way to Philadelphia. The following summer Mrs. d'Autremont and her three sons came to Asylum, and on making known their condition to Mr. Talon he sent up a boat to the Butternutts and brought down the entire colony, which, while adding to the numbers, was no addition to the efficiency at Asylum. Almost every week witnessed new additions to the settlement. Wherever the separated royalists happened to be they began to think how they might reach the new town on the Susquehanna to which they looked as their Asylum and resting place. The problem was to reach Wilkes-Barre, when they expected Judge Hollenback would see them safely to the desired haven. In a letter dated Pottsgrove, 25 September, 1794, Mr. James Montullé writes to Mr. Hollenback as follows: "The following articles I beg you will be so kind as to secure in your store, to be forwarded to Asylum to Mr. Keating, by the next opportunity, as I intend to move up very soon with a part of my family. I should like to know if the water will allow to go up in a small boat, and whether such thing might be to proceed at Wilkes-Barre. In case the water being too low for boats, would it be a matter of possibility to hire a canoe to carry one ton? I should take it as a great kindness, Sir, if you will take the trouble to give me such information, and likewise if horses fetch a good price in your place, as when I move up I shall have two capital horses to spare." He enumerates his effects as consisting of three chests covered with leather and skin, two chests of plain wood, and a large bundle of bedding. One of his capital horses proved to be blind, and called forth several letters to Mr. Hollenback to secure its sale.

Mr. Talon who was manager of affairs at Asylum planned improvements on a large scale. The colonists were

encouraged to clear up their lots, beautify their homes, plant gardens and lawns, and make their surroundings attractive. At this time there was not a mill in Bradford county that could grind flour, and at Asylum there was no stream that would afford power to drive one. So a grist mill driven by horse-power was built, the mill stones were procured at Wilkes-Barre, and for bolting cloth one of the ladies gave her silk dress. There were no stores at or near Asylum; the nearest was the Hollenback store at Tioga Point. Two stores were, however, opened in the settlement where the variety and quality of goods kept were superior to any place above Wilkes-Barre. Blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers and tailors had shops managed by skilled workmen, for which France was as noted then as now. Although lying on the side of the river on which there was the least travel, yet the romance of the settlement, the reputed wealth of the settlers, their refined style of living, so far in advance of those about them, their well-filled stores, and their skillful workmen, soon brought throngs of visitors to Asylum, drawn either by curiosity or business. To accommodate the strangers who came among them, as well as some of their countrymen who were without homes, in August, 1794, Mr. LeFevre was licensed to keep an inn at Asylum. At its January Sessions, 1795, the court of Luzerne county granted a like license to M. Heraud, and in April, 1797, to Peter Regnier and John Becdelliere. Among the settlers were several of the secular clergy, *i. e.*, clergy not bound by monastic vows, and the rites and services of the Church were duly observed, although they did not have, as far as can be learned, even a chapel for religious worship. The missal in use there was in the possession of the late Rev. Patrick Toner, formerly Roman Catholic priest at Towanda, and later at Plymouth of this county. The first care of Mr. Talon was to open and improve the roads leading to Asylum. A road was also surveyed as far as Dushore and

beyond, and built as far as Laddsburg in Bradford county, and is still known as the "old French road." Farms were laid out, fences were built and quite a settlement begun on what was formerly the Hiram Stone farm, in Terry township. The refugees were all royalists and felt the deepest interest in the fate of the royal family, who, when they left France, were being rapidly degraded by the Revolutionists, and their lives in constant jeopardy by the mobs that terrorized Paris. At one time it was thought they could safely be brought to America, and plans were made for their reception and care. Two large houses were begun in the settlement in Terry, a large bakery constructed, and other buildings were in contemplation when the news of the death of the king, reaching Asylum, put an end to their plans. Along the valley of the south branch of Towanda Creek numerous clearings were begun in the vicinity of New Albany and Laddsburg. It will be remembered that none of the colonists were farmers. Probably not one of them had seen a tree felled until they came to Asylum. In chopping down a tree they cut on all sides, while one watched to see where it would fall that they might escape being struck by it. Near New Albany the frame of a saw mill was erected of the finest oak timber, every stick of which was smoothly planed and the joints as closely fitted as in the finest joiner work. Irons for the gearing were brought over but never put in place. One solitary adventurer had gone four miles beyond and made a clearing on the site of Dushore. At Asylum a brewery was built on the little stream crossing the highway near the Gilbert homestead. Arrangements were made for its enlargement but the disruption of the colony prevented the execution of the plan. During the existence of the colony one committed suicide, two or three were accidentally killed, others died from sickness, but I have failed to discover a common cemetery. Probably each, like the LaPortes and Homets, had a burial plot on his own

premises. Some of those who came from St. Domingo brought slaves with them. These were not long in finding out that under our laws they were free, and bade their masters an unceremonious good bye. April 1, 1796, Mr. Larone writes to Mr. Hollenback offering five dollars for the return of a negro man about thirty years of age, stoutly built, not able to speak scarcely a word of English, who ran away from his house the night before taking various articles of clothing, claiming to be free, although Mr. Larone says he was bound for fourteen years.

No better picture of the outward life of the people, the style of their houses and the character of their improvements could be given than the following description embodied in an agreement entered into between Sophia de Seybert and Guy de Noailles, December 23, 1797: "On number four hundred and sixteen stands a log house thirty by eighteen feet covered with nailed shingles. The house is divided into two lower rooms and two in the upper story. The lower ones are papered. On both sides of the house stand two small buildings of the same kind, one is used for a kitchen, the other being papered is commonly called the dining room; both these buildings have good fire-places and a half-story. Three rooms in the biggest house have fire-places, the two side buildings and the other are joined together by a piazza. There is a good cellar under the dining room. The yard is enclosed by a nailed palisade-fence, and there is a good double gate. The garden has a like fence, and a constant stream of water runs through it. Over the spring a spring-house has been erected; it is divided into two rooms one of which is floored. The garden is decorated by a considerable number of fruit trees, young Lombardy poplars and weeping willows, and by a lattice summer house. Next to the garden is a nursery of about nine hundred apple trees. The lower part of the lot forms a piece of meadow of about eight acres enclosed by a post

and rail fence. On the same lot stands a horse grist-mill. The building is forty feet long by thirty-four feet wide. Part of the lower story is contrived into a stable for the mill horses and a cow stable. Part of the upper story is used to keep fodder. The mill is double-gearred and in complete order, being furnished with a good pair of stones, good bolting-cloth, and in one corner stands a good fire-place. Above the mill runs a never-failing spring which waters a great part of the meadow."

The house of Mr. Talon stood near the LaPorte homestead, was of the same general style but larger, having two stories with dormer windows, and two front doors. Some of the emigrants succeeded in bringing with them a part of their furniture, which added somewhat to the elegance of their mode of living, and was endeared to them by the associations with the homeland. Mrs. John Huff, a daughter of Antoine LeFevre, who was born in Paris, and could remember seeing men's heads carried on pike-poles through the streets of that city, used to point with pride to a bureau with a marble top and some other articles of furniture telling her visitor, "*That* came from France."

From time to time the settlement was visited by noted travelers who were entertained with all the luxury that their wilderness homes could afford. On such occasions and at other times also they did not forget their French habits nor French gayety. No matter how frugal the meal the ladies came to their dinner in full dress, and the gentlemen donned the best suit in their wardrobes. Evenings were spent either in each others homes with music, dancing and games, or in summer on Sunday afternoons upon a green plat on the hill just above the town, from which the view is magnificent.

In May, 1795, the Duke de Rochefoucauld de Liancourt visited the settlement, and has given a very full account of it in his "Travels in North America." He says Asylum at

that time consisted of about "thirty houses, inhabited by families from St. Domingo and from France, by French artisans, and even by Americans. Some inns and two shops [stores of general merchandise] have been established, the business of which is considerable. Several town shares have been put in very good condition, and the fields and gardens begin to be productive. A considerable quantity of ground has been cleared on the Loyal Sock, from ten to twenty acres per share [of 400 acres] having been cleared. The owner can either settle there himself or intrust it to a farmer. The sentiments of the colonists are good. Every one follows his business—the cultivator as well as the innkeeper or tradesman—with as much zeal as if he had been brought up to it. * * * Motives arising from French manners and opinions have hitherto prevented even French families from settling here. These are, however, in great measure removed. Some families of artisans are also established at Asylum, and such as conduct themselves properly earn great wages. This cannot be said of the greatest part of them. They are, in general, very indifferent workmen, and much addicted to drunkenness. Those who reside here at present are hardly worth keeping. The real farmers who reside at Asylum live, upon the whole, on very good terms with each other, being sensible that harmony is requisite to render their situation comfortable and happy. They possess no considerable property, and their way of life is simple. Mr. Talon lives in a manner somewhat more splendid, as he is obliged to maintain a number of persons to whom his assistance is indispensable. The price of the company's land at present is \$2.50 per acre; that in the town of Asylum fetches a little more. The bullock which are consumed in Asylum are generally brought from the back settlements [some were sent up from Wilkes-Barre], but it is frequently found necessary to send thither for them. The grain which is not consumed in Asylum finds a market

in Wilkes-Barre, and is transported thither on the river. In the same manner all kinds of merchandise are transported from Philadelphia to Asylum. They are carried in wagons as far as Harrisburg and thence by barges up the river. The freight amounts, in the whole, to two dollars per hundredweight. [Freight from Wilkes-Barre to Asylum was 51 cents per cwt.] The salt comes from the salt houses at Genesee. Flax is produced in the country about Asylum. Maple sugar is made in great abundance; each tree is computed to yield, on the average, from two to three pounds per year. Molasses and vinegar are prepared here. A considerable quantity of tar is also made and sold for four dollars per barrel containing thirty-two gallons. Day laborers are paid five shillings per day. The manufacture of potashes has been commenced at Asylum, and it is contemplated the brewing of malt liquors. A corn mill and saw mill are building on the Loyal Sock." He speaks also of the dislike many of the French had for the Americans, which, in many cases, were of the lowest and most ignorant sort—the Vander Pools, Johnsons, Hermans, and the like—as being so strong that many of them declared that they would never learn to speak English.

The next year, October, 1796, Mr. Weld, an Englishman, passing through Bradford county, stopped at Asylum, which he describes as "a town laid out at the expense of several philanthropic persons of Pennsylvania, who entered into a subscription for the purpose, as a place of retreat for the unfortunate French emigrants who fled to America. The town consists of about fifty log houses, and for the use of the inhabitants a considerable land has been purchased adjoining it, which has been divided into farms. The French settled here, however, seem to have no great ability or inclination to cultivate the earth, and the greater part of them have let their lands, at a small yearly rental, to the Americans, and amuse themselves with driving deer, fowling and

fishing. They live entirely to themselves; they hate the Americans, and the Americans in the neighborhood hate and accuse them of being an idle and dissolute set. The manners of the two people are so very different that it is impossible they should ever agree."

Talleyrand, the famous French statesman and diplomat, an envoy to England in 1792, came to the United States in 1794, where he staid about two years, spending a considerable part of the autumn of 1795 at Asylum, where his distinguished abilities and the important political and ecclesiastical offices held by him in France gave him a prominent place in the esteem of his exiled countrymen on the Susquehanna. In 1796, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, afterward King of France, accompanied by several of his noble acquaintances, the Duke Montpensier and Count Beaujolais, visited Asylum and was the guest of his former Parisian friends, and remained there for some time. One cannot help thinking in this connection of the strange shifts of fortune, when we remember that not only the exile became a king, but that on the accession of Bourbons to the French throne a considerable number of Republicans of noble blood and fame, followers of Napoleon, were twenty-five years later (1816) exiled from France for political opinions, came to the United States and at great sacrifice and suffering and hardship made a similar futile attempt at forming a colony in Alabama. [See Lippincott's Magazine, May, 1897, p. 663.]

It is at this time impossible to tell the number of colonists at any one time at Asylum. In 1795 there are reported thirty houses and the next year fifty, but some of these were occupied by Americans who were farmers and laborers, while a considerable number of Frenchmen were then without families. In the assessment of 1796 there are twenty-nine on the rate list. In its best period the number may have been from one hundred and fifty to two hundred souls.

Of these some had been persons of wealth and high position at home. Among the more important the following are worthy of special notice :

The Marquis Lucretius de Blacons was deputy for Dauphiné in the Constituent Assembly. After leaving France he married Madamoiselle de Maulde, late canoness of the Chapter of Bonbourg. He kept a store at Asylum, having as partner Mancy Colin, formerly Abbé de Sevigny and Archdeacon of Tours. M. Blancons returned to France, and became a member of the National Assembly. M. Colin went to St. Domingo, became chaplain in the army of Tous-saint L'Overture. On the surrender to Bonaparte he fled to Charleston, S. C., and died soon after. James de Montulé, a French baron, was captain of a troop of horse in the king's service. In Asylum he lived in the upper part of the settlement, and was superintendent of the clearings. His cousin, Madame de Sybert, whose husband was a rich planter in St. Domingo, where he died, lived near him. John Becdel-liere had a store near where Miller's house is. He had for partners two brothers, Augustine and Francis de la Roue, one of whom was a *petit gen d'arme*, and the other a captain of infantry. They returned to France with Talleyrand, to whom one of them became private secretary. M. Becdel-liere returned to France in 1803. Doctor Lawrence Buz-zard, an eminent physician, was a rich planter in St. Domingo, and with his wife, son and daughter, settled at Asylum. He afterward went to Cuba, where he died. Mr. John Brevost, a native of Paris, was with Mr. Dulong interested in the settlement at the "Butternutts." At Asylum he was a farmer. In January, 1801, he advertises in the Wilkes-Barre *Gazette* "that he intends to open at Asylum a school for teaching the French language. The price for tuition and boarding a child between the ages of ten and sixteen years will be sixty bushels of wheat per year, to be delivered at Newtown, Tioga, Asylum or Wilkes-Barre, at the places

pointed out by the subscriber, one-half every six months." The school at Asylum proving a failure, he went to New Orleans, where he, his wife and daughter established a flourishing ladies' seminary. Peter Regnier, an innkeeper at Asylum in 1797, in a letter to Judge Gore, dated Wilmington, Del., Nov. 20, 1803, writes that Henry Welles of Tioga had made application to Mr. Brevost for the purchase of the horse mill Mr. Brevost had at Asylum, and says it can be had of Mr. George Aubrey, and adds: "After a long journey of two years in Europe I am returned to this country, with the intention never to quit it again, being of the opinion that there is not a better one in the world. I have no doubt but you will hear with much concern that I have been very unfortunate during my absence. With a great deal of trouble I had realized on some properties I had in France, and remitted the proceeds to my house in Philadelphia; in short, I expected to have an independent fortune. Far from it. Three months previous to my arrival here my partner had made his escape to the West Indies, leaving me and my family destitute of everything. However, I keep up my spirits and trust in Providence, now the only hope I can rely on." Mr. Aubrey was a blacksmith at Asylum; went to Philadelphia for surgical aid to remove a tumor from his neck and remained there. Messrs. Fromenta and Carles were priests and conducted religious services in the colony. Mr. Keating, though deeply interested in the settlement, and a valued counselor to Mr. Talon, never was a permanent resident at Asylum.

When the French came to Asylum there was not a post-route or a post-office in Bradford county. The publishers of newspapers established a private express, which was advertised each week, for the distribution of their papers. It was not until 1801 that there was a post-office nearer than Wilkes-Barre. The people at Asylum sent an express weekly to Philadelphia, the postman traveling on horseback,

and continued it during the greater part of their occupation of Asylum.

When the French National Assembly came under the controlling influence of Robespierre it issued a decree commanding all emigrants to return immediately to France under penalty of permanent expatriation and confiscation of their estates. About the time Napoleon began to control public affairs wiser counsels prevailed, and all Frenchmen were invited to return to their native country and the restoration of their estates assured to them. It was glad news to the exiles at Asylum. The postman who brought it waved his hat and shouted it out to all he met until he became so hoarse that he could not speak aloud. At Asylum the settlement was rapturous with joy. Men hugged and kissed each other as they talked over the good news, and days were spent in feasting and gladness. The great majority at once began to make preparations to leave the woods of Pennsylvania and return to their own beautiful France. As fast as they could get the means they hastened back to their homes over the sea, toward which, in all the days of their exile, they turned with a homesick longing and ardent wish.

Besides those already mentioned, a Mr. Beaulieu, who had been a captain in the French service, and served in the legion of Potosky in the Revolutionary war, married his wife here and remained in this country, but further nothing has been learned.

Madame d'Autremont was a lady of wealth and refinement, and preserved the habits to which she had been accustomed in France. It is related of her that she always dined in full dress. Her oldest son, Louis Paul, returned to France with Talleyrand. He was a man of considerable ability, and was in both Portugal and England on business for the French government. In 1832 he revisited the United States, but returned to France, where he died. He invested large sums of money in real estate in this country, but for

some reason to little benefit to himself. On the breaking up of the colony at Asylum the family, mother and two sons, returned to the "Butternutts," and in 1806 moved to Angelica, N. Y. Here they were soon joined by Victor du Pont de Nemours, a son of Piere Samuel du Pont, one of the most distinguished Frenchmen of his time. He subsequently removed to Delaware to join his brother in the manufacture of gunpowder. Madame D'Autremont died at Angelica, August 29, 1809, aged 64 years. Her second son, Alexander Hubert d'Autremont, married Abigail, daughter of Maj. Oliver Dodge, one of the earliest settlers of Terrytown, Bradford county, and a captain in the Revolutionary army, in 1797, and had ten children, all of whom are dead. He died in Angelica August 4, 1857, and his wife January 12, 1866. The other son, Augustus Francois Cecile d'Autremont, married Sarah Ann Stewart, and also had ten children. His wife died in Angelica in 1840, and he in 1860.

Charles Homet was steward in the household of Louis XVI, and fled from Paris at the time of the king's attempted escape in 1792. On board the same ship in which he sailed to America was Marie Theressa Scheilinger, a native of Strasburg, and waiting maid to the unfortunate Marie Antoinette. Becoming acquainted on the voyage, they were married on their arrival to this country, and in about a year found their way to Asylum. He spent a year at the settlement in Terry township, but returned to Asylum, where he bought several lots of the Asylum Company, and later, when the settlement was abandoned, he and Mr. Laporte purchased a large part of the land which it occupied. Mr. Homet was twice married; by the first marriage were three sons, Charles, Francis and Joseph, and one daughter, Harriet, who married Simon Stevens of Standing Stone, Pa. By the second marriage one daughter, who was the wife of the late E. T. Fox, Esq., of Towanda. Mr. Homet died in 1838 at the allotted age of three score and ten, and was

buried beside his wife, who died in 1823, aged 63 years, on his farm in Asylum. The remains of both were subsequently removed to the cemetery beside the M. E. Church in that place.

Bartholomew La Porte was born in Tulli, France, in 1758; he was a sailor. Returning from a voyage his ship put in at Cadiz, where he learned the disturbed condition of things in France, and that many of his countrymen were coming to America. He at once sailed for Philadelphia and joined the refugees at Asylum. On the abandonment of the settlement he received power of attorney from the Trustees of the Asylum Company to lease any of the French holdings for one year. He afterwards became the purchaser of a large part of Asylum and built a house near the Talon residence, and was buried there. He married, at Asylum, Elizabeth Franklin, 1797, and died February 11, 1836. She died May 5, 1852, aged 71. To them was born one child, the late Hon. John La Porte, who was twice elected to Congress, and was Surveyor General of Pennsylvania. He married Matilda, daughter of Dr. Jabez Chamberlan.

Antoine LaFevre was the keeper of a fashionable café in Paris, his wife, as has been said, being sister of Mrs. d'Autremont. His family consisted, besides his wife, of a son and two daughters. Becoming alarmed at the condition of things in Paris and fearing worse, he disposed of his business and, in company with his sister-in-law, Madame d'Autremont, determined to come to America. To his great disappointment he found that he would not be permitted to bring but a part of his family. His passport included himself and his son. While waiting at Havre for a vessel, the son died. He dressed one of his daughters in the son's clothing, cut her hair close, when she answered the description in the passport so closely as to escape detection. Their first settlement was made at the "Butternuts," then they came to Asylum. Here, during the continuance of the colony, Mr. LeFevre kept an inn; after its abandonment he

moved over the river into Standing Stone, keeping here also a house of entertainment, whose cleanly-kept chambers and well-furnished table and deliciously-fragrant coffee were for many years fresh in the memory of the people accustomed to travel up and down the river, who always planned, if possible, to have at least a meal at Madame LeFevre's table. Mr. and Mrs. LeFevre are both buried in the old cemetery at Wyalusing. Two daughters lived to maturity; one married John Prevost, and lived on Russell Hill, Wyoming county; the other married J. Huff, and lived on the southern slope of Frenchtown mountain. Mrs. Huff was the little girl whom her father brought over in the disguise of her brother's clothing. Both these ladies lived to be past ninety years old. They could remember many of the events that transpired in the streets of Paris during the early days of the Revolution. To one interested in the stories of those awful days nothing gave them more pleasure than to repeat the recollections of the four score years which their memories included. To them and to the late Francis X. Homet, son of Charles, Sr., the writer is indebted for many of the facts and incidents herein recorded.

The settlement was not of sufficiently long continuance—less than ten years [began 1793; power of attorney July 3, 1807]—and the people were too exclusive in their habits and too strange in their customs and language to leave any very strong influence upon the life of the community. They set to the rough woodsmen about them an example of better living, of better houses and roads, of better manners and education, of better work, of more tasteful surroundings, with flowers and music, than they had seen before—an example that some of them were willing to profit by, but the masses ridiculed as being “too fine and stuck up.” It was a romantic episode in the history of this North Branch valley, the memory of which it is worth our while to keep, and of the men because of their fortitude under misfortune and of their loyalty to their king.

The following Bill of Lading will somewhat illustrate the conditions of the settlement at Asylum [H. E. H.] :

"EFFETS DELIVRÉE AN CHARETIER
PAR MONSIEUR TALLON.

- 9. Boittes de Vere à Vitre.
- 2. Malles.
200 lb. d'Acier.
- 6. Boittes de differentes Grandeurs.
 - 1. " de Moutarde.
 - 1. Bbl. contenant Poids et Mesures.
 - 2. 2^{ant} de Cordage.
 - 1. Tiercone de Sucre blanc.
- 4. Sacs Caffé.
 - 1. Bbl. de Salpêtre.
 - 1. " Amidon.
 - 1. " Epices.
 - 1. " Thé.
 - 1. " Quincaillerie.
 - 1. " Vinegre.

Les effets charges sur les Wagons de M. Parish doivent etre rendu a Wilkes-Barré et delivré au Colonel Hollinbach, qui payera le voiturage à raison de 11 shillings du cent pesant a compte du quel j'ai payé cinquante gourdes tant pour ces objects que pour ceux chargé cher M. Hollingsworth et par M. Wright."



MORTAR AND PESTLE USED IN FORTY FORT IN 1778.

THE FIRST MILL FOR GRINDING CORN IN WYOMING VALLEY.

THE EARLY GRIST-MILLS OF WYOMING VALLEY, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY THE HON. CHARLES ABBOTT MINER.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
DECEMBER 16, 1898.

The first settlement by white people at Wyoming was begun in 1762, at Mill Creek, within the limits of what was afterwards Wilkes-Barré, and is now Plains township. The number of settlers was small, and before they could do much more than clear some land for cultivating, and erect necessary log huts for dwellings, they were all either massacred by the Indians, carried away into captivity, or driven back to their New England homes.

No attempt was made by these settlers to erect a grist-mill. In the absence of such a mill a corn-pounder or hominy block was used. This was the section of a tree trunk, with one end hollowed like a bowl. In this bowl the corn was placed, and then pounded with a pestle hung upon a spring-pole.

In 1769 the permanent settlement of Wyoming by the New Englanders was begun here in Wilkes-Barré. In a petition to the Connecticut Assembly, dated at Wilkes-Barré August 29, 1769, and signed by a number of settlers, it is set forth that they have been at great expense "erecting houses, *mills*, and other necessary buildings." In the *New York Journal* of December 28, 1769, there was published an account of the troubles at Wyoming between the Pennamites and Yankees, and reference was made to the capture of Maj. John Durkee while "going from the block-house to view some *mills* they were erecting." At a town-meeting held in Wilkes-Barré in September, 1771, Captain Warner was appointed to live in the block-house near the

mills, "in order to guard ye mills;" and he was granted liberty to select nine men to assist him as guards.

These mills—or, more properly, this mill, for there was but one structure—was the mill erected on Mill Creek by the New Englanders in the Autumn of 1769, and it was, without doubt, a saw-mill. No steps had been taken, up to the Autumn of 1771 towards the erection in Wyoming of a grist-mill. According to Miner's "History of Wyoming" (Appendix, page 47) there were no grist-mills in Wyoming in 1771. "For bread the settlers used pounded corn. Doctor Sprague, who kept a boarding-house, would take his horse, with as much wheat as he could carry, and go out to the Delaware [to Coshutunk] and get it ground. Seventy or eighty miles to mill was no trifling distance. The flour was kept for cakes and to be used only on extraordinary occasions."

By 1772 the New England settlers were in full and complete possession of Wyoming, and then one of the first matters of general interest that was acted upon in town-meeting was with reference to the erection of a grist-mill. Early in 1772 a grant was made to Nathan Chapman (who is said to have come from Goshen, New York), by the proprietors of Wilkes-Barré township, of a site of forty acres of land at Mill Creek; thirty acres on the north side of the creek and ten on the south side, just east of the road—known later as the "middle road," and now as the continuation of Main street—running from Wilkes-Barré to Pittston. The same year a grist-mill and a saw-mill were built by Mr. Chapman on the portion of the afore-mentioned site lying north of the creek, and the grist-mill was the first one erected in Wyoming.

During the period that Wyoming was under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and the laws of that Province and State prevailed and were enforced here, the statute relating to grist-mills provided that each miller in the Colony, or the

owner of a grist-mill, "shall be allowed three quarts out of each bushel of Indian corn he grinds, and for other grain two quarts out of each bushel; except malt, out of which one quart." Should the miller presume to take or receive greater toll, he was liable to a penalty of ten shillings for each conviction.

Each owner of a mill was required to provide sealed measures, viz.: One of 1 pt., one of 1 qt., and one of 2 qts., "with an instrument to strike the said measures." The miller was also allowed for bolting, one pint out of each bushel he should bolt. It was also provided by statute that "one miller to each grist-mill" be exempted from liability to do duty in the militia of the Colony.

THE CHAPMAN GRIST-MILL

on Mill Creek was a log structure, with one run of stones. The mill irons were brought by Matthias Hollenback in his boat up the Susquehanna River from Wright's Ferry, and Charles Miner says the voyage "was rendered memorable by the loss of Lazarus Young, who was drowned on the way up." Stewart Pearce, in his "Annals of Luzerne County," says that this mill was carried away by the high water soon after it was erected. This I very much doubt, for in a deed of conveyance executed by Nathan Chapman October 24, 1774, he describes the two mills then standing on the north side of the creek as the ones which had been erected by him "some years past."

Chapman ran his grist-mill from its completion in 1772 until the last-mentioned date—October 24, 1774—when, in consideration of £400 "*to be paid*" he conveyed to Adonijah Stanburrough, late of Orange county, N. Y., the forty acres of land, the two mills, dwelling-house, etc. Stanburrough ran the grist-mill until some time after the War of the Revolution had been begun, when, being a Loyalist, or Tory, he was forced by the inhabitants to leave Wyoming.

Before going away he placed the Mill Creek property in charge of his father, Josiah Stanburrough, then at Wyoming, and who was not a Tory. Adonijah having failed to pay to Chapman the consideration money for the property, the latter sold the same November 16, 1777, to Josiah Stanburrough the father, who was in possession. Charles Miner says that in 1776-7 "the people had no other mill to grind for them," and Stanburrough's mill was kept in constant operation.

These Chapman-Stanburrough mills were destroyed by the invading enemy in July, 1778. According to an official report made by the Selectmen of Wyoming in 1781, Josiah Stanburrough's losses by the British and Indian depredations of July, 1778, were appraised at £603, 14 sh. With a single exception this was much the largest amount of loss reported by the Selectmen as having been sustained by any one of the Wyoming sufferers.

About 1781 or '2 new mills were built on the Mill Creek site by Josiah Stanburrough. The new grist-mill was taken possession of by the Pennamites in the Autumn of 1783 and given to a man friendly to the Pennsylvania cause. (See petition of John Jenkins *et al.*, to the Pennsylvania Assembly, Miner's "History of Wyoming," page 334.) Repossession of the mill was gained by the Yankees a few months later, but May 1, 1784, it was again "taken by force from the inhabitants by the soldiers with large clubs." At this time it was the only grist-mill in the settlement. (See petition of Zebulon Butler, Obadiah Gore, Nathan Denison *et al.*, to the Continental Congress. "Penn'a Archives," X.: 613.) Soon thereafter the settlers took possession of the mill by force, and "kept it running night and day to provide flour for themselves for future emergencies as well as for their present wants." (See Miner's "Wyoming," page 348.)

After that Josiah Stanburrough continued to run the mill until February, 1787, when, for £300 he conveyed the whole



HOMINY BLOCK OR CORN POUNDER, 1776.

FROM "PEARCE'S ANNALS OF LUZERNE COUNTY."

property to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of John Hollenback of Wilkes-Barré. Early in the present century the old mills were removed, and a new grist-mill was erected by Mrs. John Hollenback on the south side of the creek. John Hollenback had died in 1797. Upon the death of Mrs. Hollenback in 1808 or '9 the grist-mill became the property of her son Matthias, 2d. In 1820 the mill was assessed for taxation at \$500. In 1860 or '61 the mill was converted into a distillery, and two years later the building was turned into a dwelling-house. There are now remaining no vestiges of the building, it having been destroyed by fire ten or more years ago.

Stewart Pearce in his "Annals of Luzerne County" says that in 1782 "James Sutton, who had previously built mills in Kingston and Exeter townships, erected a grist-mill on Mill Creek near the river. It was constructed of hewn logs, had one run of stones, and on the roof of the building there was a sentry-box from which the valley could be overlooked, and the movements of the enemy observed."

According to Mr. Pearce this was the first mill erected within the present limits of the city of Wilkes-Barré, and he says that it was swept away by the Pumpkin Flood of 1786. I find no reference to this mill in any other reliable history of this locality, nor do I find any record evidence showing that James Sutton ever owned any land or rights along Mill Creek.

If such a mill as has been described was erected "on Mill Creek near the river," it must have been built upon the site owned by Messrs. Hollenback and Gore—for from 1782 till 1788 they owned the mill-site and all the water rights at the mouth of Mill Creek—as will be shown more fully hereinafter. My belief is that the mill described by Mr. Pearce was the one erected in 1781 or '2, as previously described, for Josiah Stanburrough (and very probably built by James

Sutton) on the old Chapman site, and not "near the river" as Pearce says.

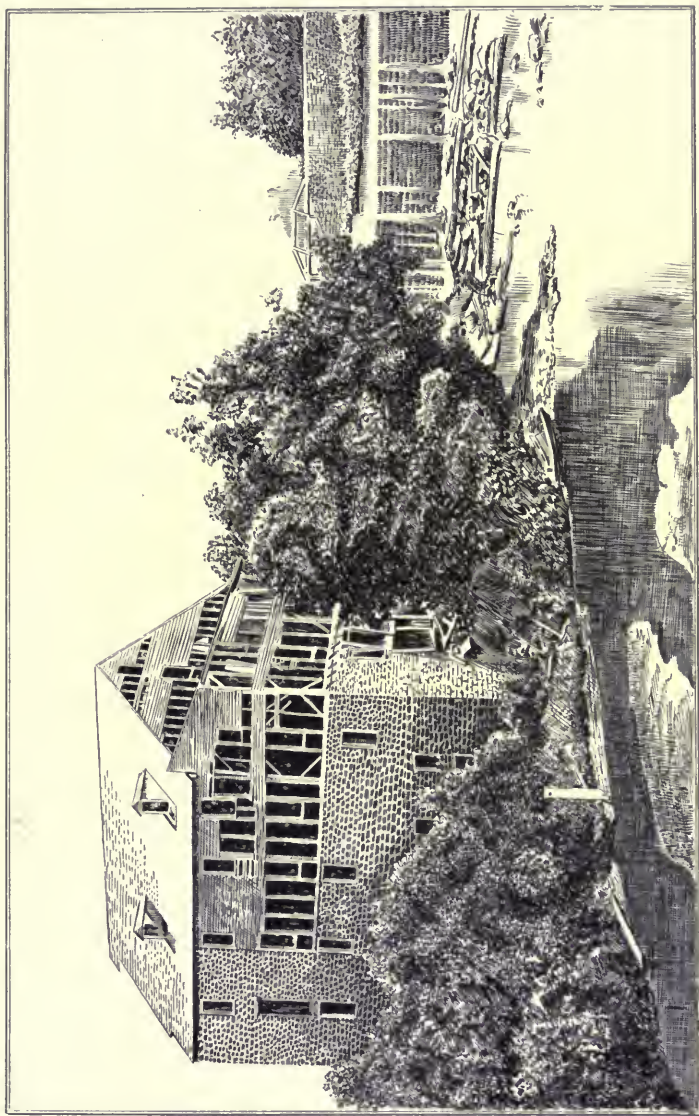
The testimony of all writers of Wyoming history, and all old records which I have examined, is to the effect that there was only one grist-mill on Mill Creek in the years 1782-'5, and that was the Stanburrough mill on the Chapman site. The grist-mill of 1782, with "a sentry-box on the roof," may have been built on the *south* side of the creek, and the saw-mill, which was erected about the same time, set up on the *north* side—and, if such was the case, the "sentry-box" mill was, as Pearce says, the first grist-mill built within the present limits of Wilkes-Barré.

HOLLENBACK'S STONE GRIST-MILL, MILL CREEK.

In the Summer of 1772 the proprietors of the Susquehanna Company who were on the ground at Wyoming voted "to give unto Capt. Stephen Fuller, Obadiah Gore, Jr., and Seth Marvin all the privileges of the stream called Mill Creek, below Mr. Chapman's mill, to be their own property, with full liberty of building mills and flowing a pond, but so as not to obstruct or hinder Chapman's mill—provided they have a *saw*-mill ready to go by the 1st of November, 1773." The donees or grantees named sold for ten shillings, September 10, 1772, one-quarter of their right to Mill Creek to Capt. Obadiah Gore, Sr., of Kingston, and soon thereafter the erection of a saw-mill was begun. It was finished and in running order before November 1, 1773—the time stipulated.

Charles Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 142): "This was the first saw-mill erected on the upper waters of the Susquehanna." This, of course, is an error, as we have hereinbefore shown that there was a mill at the mouth of Mill Creek in 1769 and in 1771.

Before August, 1774, the proprietors of the mill-seat at the mouth of Mill Creek had built near their first mill a



THE MATTHIAS HOLLENBACK MILL ON MILL CREEK.

second saw-mill. Captain Fuller had in the meantime disposed of his one-quarter interest in the mills and rights to Seth Marvin, who later sold the interest to Isaac Benjamin for £100. In December, 1775, Marvin and Benjamin sold their half-interest in the two mills and the privileges annexed and belonging, to Capt. Robert Carr; and in the following March Carr sold the same half-interest to Matthias Hollenback of Wilkes-Barré. The two Gores and Hollenback ran the two mills until July 3, 1778, when they were burnt by the British and Indians.

Capt. Obadiah Gore, Sr., died in the Spring of 1780, and at that time neither of the two mills had been rebuilt. In the inventory of Captain Gore's estate we find this item: "One-quarter of a mill-seat on Mill Creek, with one-half of a set of saw-mill irons, £9"—which shows, without doubt, that the saw-mill irons comprised the only portion of the two mills at the mouth of Mill Creek saved from destruction in July, 1778.

Obadiah Gore, Jr., became the owner of his deceased father's one-quarter interest, which gave him a half-interest in the property; and August 27, 1788, he sold this half-interest to Col. Matthias Hollenback, who thus became the owner of the mill-site at the mouth of Mill Creek. Colonel Hollenback was the eldest brother of John Hollenback, previously mentioned.

Judging by the language in the deed of conveyance from Gore to Hollenback (see Luzerne County Deed Book I.: 83) there were no buildings on this site in 1788; but within two or three years thereafter Colonel Hollenback had erected there, and was operating, a saw-mill. In 1809 this mill was assessed for taxation at \$150.

During the years 1809 and '10 Colonel Hollenback erected on the north side of Mill Creek, very near to his saw-mill (about where the plant of the Wilkes-Barré Electric Light Company now stands), a large grist-mill. The rear portion

of the building, abutting on the creek, was four and a-half stories in height; the first and second stories being built of stone, and the remaining stories of wood. The front portion of the building was three and a-half stories in height, and was built entirely of stone. The mill had four run of stones. This, in its day, was the most extensive and expensive grist-mill in the county of Luzerne. It and the saw-mill near by were assessed in the years 1811-'14 at \$2000, and in 1815 at \$2800. The grist-mill was known for many years as Hollenback's stone mill."

After the decease of Colonel Hollenback the property passed into the ownership of his son George M. Hollenback, Esq. In the Spring of 1850 the mill was leased by George H. Rosét of Wilkes-Barré, who, having made extensive repairs and employed an experienced miller, named the establishment "Wyoming Mill." It was operated as a grist-mill until 1853, and was then used for a variety of other purposes until about 1867. After that it stood in a dismantled condition until 1881, when it was torn down.

One of the early millers at this mill was a man named John Murfy, who married a daughter of Cornelius Courtright. He was succeeded by Isaiah Tyson, who also married a daughter of Cornelius Courtright. Tyson was followed by Driesbach as miller, and he was followed by Stroh. About this time Messrs. Flick and Phillips rented the mill. Later a man named Simms was the miller.

THE WRIGHT-MINER MILL ON MILL CREEK.

About 1790 Thomas Wright moved from Doylestown, Penn'a, to Wilkes-Barré, where he immediately engaged in mercantile business. He purchased, August 31, 1793, of Nathan Waller and John Carey twenty-five acres of backlot No. 11, in that part of Wilkes-Barré township which was later Plains township, and is now the borough of Miner's Mills, together with "a mill-pond and saw-mill upon and



THE THOMAS WRIGHT MILL.

ERECTED 1795. BURNED 1825.

FROM A DRAWING BY JAMES A. GORDON, ESQ., 1803-4.

belonging to said tract." This property was on Mill Creek, about two miles from its mouth, and had belonged to Daniel Whitney of Orange county, New York, who, March 7, 1786, sold to John Staples of Wyoming. The mill-pond was referred to in the deed of conveyance, and without doubt there was at that time (1786) a saw-mill there. If not, one must have been built by Staples soon thereafter, for when, in June, 1793, Staples sold the property to Waller and Carey a saw-mill was mentioned as one of the appurtenances.

In 1795 Thomas Wright erected a grist-mill at the mill-pond previously mentioned, on the site of the present Miner's Mills. This mill was operated by Thomas Wright until 1813 when he sold to his son-in-law Asher Miner then residing in Doylestown, Penn'a.

Before we describe the mill a few words in relation to Mr. Wright, the original builder, will not be amiss.

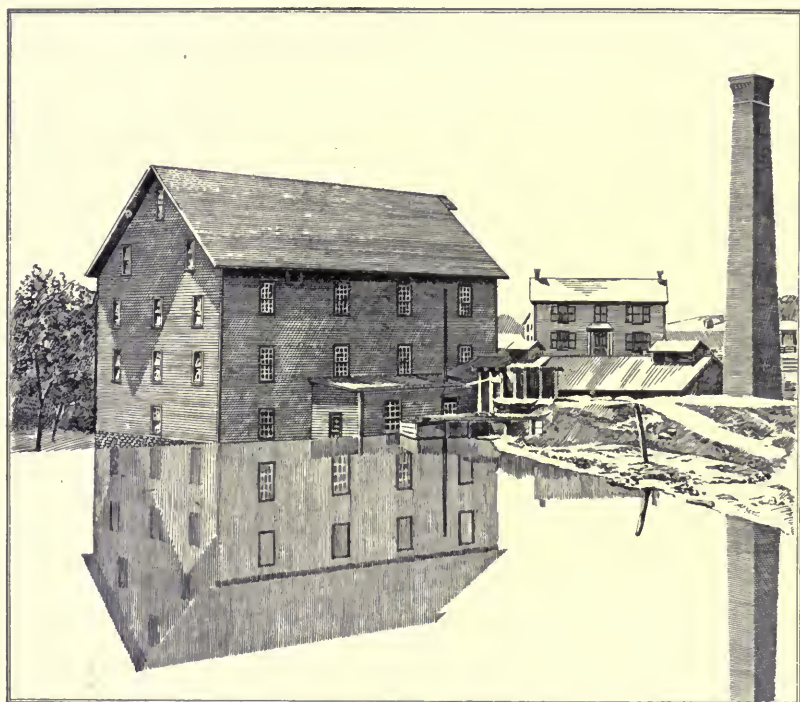
Thomas Wright was born in County Down, North of Ireland in 1748, and came to America in 1763 with his brothers Joseph and William and settled at Doylestown, Bucks county, Penn'a. Thomas was soon in charge of a school at Dyerstown two miles north of Doylestown. He secured a home in the family of Josiah Dyer and taught the rudiments of English to the children of the neighborhood, and finally made love to the daughter of his host. One day he and the daughter quietly slipped off to Philadelphia and were married which relieved the case of difficulty, as at that day Friends could not consent to the marriage of their daughters out of meeting. About 1790 he removed to Wilkes-Barré. He located his home about two miles northeast of the village at what is now Miner's Mills, and in 1795 built the mill before mentioned. The settlement soon became known as Wrightsville, but when incorporated as a borough it was called Miner's Mills in honor of the old mill which had been identified with the Miner family for several generations.

Thomas Wright built what is now known as the old Miner homestead, below the mill, about the time of building the mill (1795), or probably a short time before that. This was occupied by Mr. Wright till his death in 1820, and afterwards by the Hon. Charles Miner, the Historian, by whom it was named the "Retreat," until his death.

"Aunt" Sarah Wright, as she was called by almost every body, wife of Joseph Wright, and mother of Charles Miner's wife, and grandmother of Mrs. Ellen E. Thomas, now of Wilkes-Barré, one day rode up on horse back from her home, the old Alexander house at the end of Division street, Wilkes-Barré, to the Thomas Wright house using as a riding whip a branch of a sycamore tree. There were but few trees about the place, and she planted her riding whip which having lived and grown for upwards of a hundred years is now an immense tree, probably the largest of its variety in the valley, and is still an object of admiration in full vigor and likely to live and flourish for many years to come.

Thomas Wright died at Wrightsville in 1820. He was the father of one daughter, Mary, the wife of Asher Miner, and two sons Joseph and Josiah, all born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania. He owned and published the *Wilkes-Barré Gazette* from 1797 to 1800, when it was bought by Asher Miner and the name changed to the *Luzerne Federalist*. An interesting fact in this connection is that the first three owners and operators of this mill were also publishers of newspapers in Wilkes-Barré, namely, Thomas Wright, Asher Miner and Robert Miner (my father).

Thomas Wright became a large land owner in Luzerne county, and if he had retained one-tenth of his landed possessions which afterwards became valuable for coal, his estate would have been one of the largest in Pennsylvania. It is related of Mr. Wright that when upon his death bed he gave directions that when he died the mills above his house, both the grist-mill and the saw-mill, should be imme-



THE WRIGHT-MINER MILL.

ERECTED 1795. BURNED AND REBUILT 1826.

diately stopped and remain closed until the funeral procession had left the house. When the procession started from the house the gates were to be hoisted, the wheels set in motion and business resumed as usual.

It is also given as family history, and is undoubtedly authentic, that he had numerous carriages of various kinds, and that as he knew he could not live much longer he had them all cleaned up and marshalled before his window, that he might see for himself that they were in proper condition for his funeral. So it seems he was not afraid of the approach of death, but made suitable preparations himself that all things might be in order at its coming.

From what we can gather we find that Thomas Wright was a well educated man for that time, and his letters show a forgetfulness of self and a kindly disposition. We have reason to believe that he was a shrewd business man, as his various enterprises prospered and he died a rich man for the times in which he lived. Probably he was an eccentric man, but his eccentricities were not of a disagreeable kind. In short it may be said that he was a gentleman, and the world was the better for his having lived in it.

The following description of the Wright mill was written by James A. Gordon, the local historian, known by some of you I have no doubt, who lived in Plymouth in 1877. The article was written at my suggestion for the *Record of the Times*. Mr. Gordon speaks chiefly from his personal knowledge. He says :

"Thomas Wright, who had come from Ireland before the Revolution, conceived the project of building a merchant mill on Mill Creek about one and a quarter miles above the Matthias Hollenback mill, and accordingly in 1795 he began what was afterwards known as 'Wright's Mill.' The base-ment was substantial stone work which is still standing under what is now 'Miner's Mills.' It was thirty by forty feet, the superstructure was two stories, and I think from

my own impression there were not over seven or eight feet between the floors.

"Elisha Delano of Hanover was the mill-wright and James A. Gordon and George or Benjamin Cooper were the carpenters who erected the frame and enclosed it with ordinary half-inch weather boarding. It was started early in the spring of 1796 with a single run of country stones, known as conglomerate rock, which were made by Israel Bennett and Jacob Ozancup. There was no bolter for the first six months, but a sifter was used instead, into which was discharged the meal as it came from the grinder.

"Jacob Ozancup was the first miller and came from Minnesink, Sussex county, N. J. He continued to run the mill until it was fully completed as a merchant mill, which was sometime in 1799 or early in 1800, when the Tysons came on from Bucks county and took charge of the concern, and continued to operate it until 1821 when they removed to Canada. During a part of this time Joseph Murphy was the miller under Thomas Tyson, Isaiah Tyson having joined John Murphy in erecting and operating at Pittston what was afterwards the Barnum mill.

"The facts above stated, which occurred before my remembrance, I have received from authentic sources, being indebted therefor to Nathan Draper, John Clarke and my uncle John Atherton, and William Thompkins late of Pittston, Mrs. Hannah Abbott of Wilkes-Barré, and Mrs. Clarissa (*Cooper*) Price, all natives of that neighborhood with the exception of John Atherton. Besides this I remember distinctly a stone in the foundation wall roughly cut with the inscription '1793' or '1795.' I have no choice from my own impressions which it was.

"James A. Gordon was a resident of Wilkes-Barré less than three years, removing to Athens early in 1796. His accounts were in my possession up to 1845 when they were burned in my office on the Public Square in Wilkes-Barré.

In these books were charges against Thomas Wright for days work done on the mill in 1795. These facts and circumstances, though not absolutely conclusive, are to my own mind perfectly satisfactory that the mill was commenced in 1795 and completed as above stated.

"I now proceed to give a brief description of the mill as I remember it from 1802 up to 1820. My means of information are ample and my impressions of the mill and its features are as vivid as if they were but a week old. Within the last week I have drawn out from memory a front view of the mill with diagrams of each floor or story and machinery somewhat in detail to which the curious reader is referred. On the first floor or basement were the receiving boxes or chests in which the ground grain was deposited directly from the stone. If it needed bolting, it was placed in the hoisting tub and raised to the second floor above and emptied into the bolt hopper, from whence it descended through the bolt to the main or second floor. Thence it was delivered to the owner. The grists which did not need bolting were delivered at the lower door on the south side of the mill.

"Every part of the mill gearing was of wood, except the gudgeons and the journal blocks; all the small journals were of wrought iron, and I have heard my mother say that her father, Cornelius Atherton, made them at his shop on the Lackawanna, at what is now called Taylorville. It is quite probable that the heavy journals for the master wheel were also of wrought iron, as there was no furnace or foundry nearer than the Durham works between Easton and New Hope. If these journals were of wrought iron they must have been forged at Wright's forge on the Lackawanna, or at Lee's forge at Nanticoke.

"This was the model mill of its day, and was the first in the county that manufactured superfine flour, and the first which could boast of a pair of French buhrs or a huller for

buckwheat flour. All the moving of the grain and flour was done by the hoisting barrel, which was rigged with rollers on the bottom so that it was moved with very little effort by the miller. In the attic story was a cooler for the superfine flour, which was put in motion by a geared horizontal shaft connected with the master wheel, as were also both of the bolters.

"This mill had a high reputation for its buckwheat flour, for which it was chiefly indebted to the consummate skill of the miller and its huller. The whole machinery was operated by a breast wheel of twenty-four feet in diameter, with a head and fall of fourteen feet, the driving buckets being three and one-half feet long and made water tight. At this period there was always an abundant supply of water in Mill Creek, and except in a very dry summer the mill could be run from morning to sun down. I believe that this was the first mill in the county that sent its flour to the Philadelphia market. This mill was destroyed by fire in 1825 and was immediately rebuilt by Asher Miner who was then the owner of the property, and a larger and a better one took its place."

In closing Mr. Gordon says: "About this time my acquaintance with the neighborhood ceased, and I cannot therefore speak of its successor from my own personal knowledge."

I think it very safe to say that this Wright-Miner mill is the oldest mill in this county and perhaps in this State still running and managed by the descendants of the original owners and proprietors. It has descended in a straight line for five generations in one family. First, Thomas Wright; then Asher Miner, his son-in-law; then Robert Miner, the latter's son; then Charles A. Miner, son of Robert, and now Asher Miner, of the fifth generation, who is General Manager for the Miner-Hillard Milling Co., who are running it in

connection with other enterprises. Such instances are very rare in this country.

This mill has been owned and operated by Thomas Wright, Asher Miner, Robert Miner, Eliza Miner, his widow, Charles A. Miner, Miner & Thomas, Isaac M. Thomas & Co., Miner & Co., and now the Miner-Hillard Milling Co.

Capt. Calvin Parsons says the mill-dam now standing was erected by Asher Miner about 1828, about two years after the destruction of the original mill by fire, consequently now is seventy years old, and as solid as when first erected.

THE JOHNSON MILL ON LAUREL RUN.

In 1817 Jehoida P. Johnson, son of the Rev. Jacob Johnson, built a small grist-mill on Laurel Run, in what was Wilkes-Barré township and is now the borough of Parsons. Mr. Johnson operated this mill until 1825 (a man named Holgate being the miller), when he leased it to Christopher Appleton, a merchant in Wilkes-Barré, who ran the mill in connection with a distillery until 1829, when E. Appleton leased the property.

In 1828, a year or two before his death, Mr. Johnson enlarged and improved the mill considerably. After 1831 the heirs of Jehoida P. Johnson operated the mill until 1843, when the property came into the ownership of William P. and Miles Johnson. The grist-mill, which by that time had depreciated very much in value, was run by these men for a couple of years in connection with their powder-mill, and then was abandoned as a grist-mill. The building was destroyed a good many years ago when the adjoining powder-mill was wrecked by an explosion.

COFFRIN'S MILL, NEWPORT TOWNSHIP.

Sometime after Chapman had sold his Mill Creek property to Stanburrough he erected in Newport township—say in 1774 or '5—a small log grist-mill, with one run of stones.

It stood near the line of Hanover township, not far from Nanticoke Falls, and in its vicinity the Newport iron-forge of Mason F. and John Alden was erected about 1777. In 1776 this grist-mill was known as Coffrin's Mill, being then the property of James Coffrin. In 1777 he sold it to John Comer.

Pearce says: "This was the only mill in Wyoming that escaped destruction from floods and from the torch of the savage." Miner says that in the latter part of 1779 it was guarded by a few men, and three or four families ventured to reside in its vicinity. During the Summer of 1780 it was guarded by one Lieutenant, one Sergeant, and ten privates from Capt. John Franklin's militia company then in the Continental service at Wyoming.

This mill was a small affair, and could hardly be dignified by the name of grist-mill. It was, in fact, a corn-mill, and was like many others which were erected during the early years throughout the Susquehanna settlements. They were located upon little streams which were often dry or nearly dry, and they had one run of stones but little larger than a half-bushel measure. These mills were so arranged that when the stream was low they could be turned by hand, and could crack into samp and meal from one and one-half to three bushels of corn a day.

So far as possible the Coffrin or Newport-Hanover mill met the wants of the Wyoming public during the years 1779-'81, but the settlers were compelled to carry their grain to Colonel Stroud's mill at Stroudsburg, a distance of fifty miles through the wilderness. From the journal of Col. John Franklin we learn that July 20, 1780, "a boat arrived from down the river with the welcome cargo of twenty-three barrels of flour;" and on the 6th of the following August several men "went down the river [probably to Sunbury] to mill, and the same day Lieutenant Gore and others set out to Colonel Stroud's mill.

In a petition to the General Assembly of Connecticut dated at Westmoreland (Wyoming) September 28, 1780, and signed by the Selectmen of the town, "the difficulty of obtaining grinding" is set forth, among other matters, and it is stated that there is "no grist-mill within forty or fifty miles of this settlement." These brief extracts clearly indicate that the little mill near Nanticoke Falls was nothing more than a corn-mill.

THE LEE MILL, NANTICOKE.

Near the site of the old Coffrin mill there was built in 1820 by John Oint a grist-mill which he sold to Col. Washington Lee before its completion. This was known as the Lee Mill, and was operated for a good many years very profitably. In February, 1838, Colonel Lee offered it for rent. At that time he had become largely interested in the coal-mining business, to which he was devoting most of his attention. The mill property was neglected, and ere long no more grinding was done there.

THE BEHEE MILL, HANOVER.

In 1789 Elisha Delano built a saw-mill and a grist-mill in Hanover township on what has been known in recent years as Sugar Notch Creek, between Hanover Centre (now Askam) and the river road. Delano ran these mills for some years, and then they became the property of Samuel Rothrock, who ran them as late as 1810 or '11 and then sold out to Frederick Crisman, an innkeeper in Hanover. Crisman ran the mills for nearly two years, and then sold to Lewis Romage, who in 1815 sold to Henry Ash.

In 1816 George Behee having purchased the property began to run the grist-mill. The next year he repaired the saw-mill, and ran it and the grist-mill until 1819, and after that the grist-mill alone. In 1823 he set up a carding-machine (which is said to have been "the pioneer carding-mill

of Hanover"), and operated it in connection with the grist-mill until 1828. By this time the mill building had become somewhat dilapidated, and during the years 1829 to '31 neither grinding nor carding was done there; but, having been renovated and improved meanwhile, the grist-mill and carding-machine were operated by George Behee during 1832, '3 and 4. Then the carding-machine was given up, and the grist-mill alone was operated by Mr. Behee until his death in 1846 or '7. After that it was operated by his heirs for awhile.

THE BUTLER MILL, HANOVER.

As early as 1793 there was a grist-mill on a branch of Nanticoke Creek in Hanover, not far from where the Dundee shaft was sunk many years afterwards. This mill belonged to Nathan Carey, then to Christopher Hurlbut, and in August, 1796, it passed into the possession of James Sutton. In November, 1796, Sutton conveyed to Gen. Lord Butler of Wilkes-Barré a half-interest in this property—being part of Lot No. 16 and known as "the mill lot"—"together with one-half of a saw-mill and grist-mill thereon standing, and one-half of all the appurtenances and apparatuses thereto belonging."

Plumb says in his "History of Hanover Township" that this "was probably the grist-mill of Pelatiah Fitch, assessed to him in 1799"—in which year there were only two grist-mills in Hanover, Fitch's and Delano's. If this be true Fitch probably owned, or ran, the mill for only a short time. The assessment lists of Hanover show that early in the present century this Nanticoke Creek grist-mill, on Lot No. 16, was the property of Lord Butler of Wilkes-Barré, and in 1809 it was assessed at \$500, for purposes of taxation.

The mill was operated under the direction of Lord Butler until 1815, when he sold the property to Joseph Pruner, the maternal grandfather of the late Judge Edmund L. Dana of

this city. Mr. Pruner ran the mill until 1827, when he sold it to Col. John L. Butler of Wilkes-Barré, one of the sons of Gen. Lord Butler, the former owner. Colonel Butler operated the mill from 1828 to 1833 inclusive. By this time the building and fittings were very much out of repair (the mill was assessed at only \$50 in 1833), and no business was done there after 1833, the water power having decreased. The mill was in ruins in 1840.

THE INMAN MILL, HANOVER.

Prior to 1809 Richard and Israel Inman of Hanover built a very substantial grist-mill at the foot of Solomon's Falls, above the present borough of Ashley. In 1809 this property was assessed at \$500. In 1812 Richard Inman became the sole owner of the mill, and operated it that year and the next. Then it stood idle until 1817, after which Richard Inman operated it until his death in 1830 or '31.

Having purchased the property from the estate of Richard Inman, Israel Inman operated the mill in 1833—when it was assessed at only \$40. About 1835 or later the building was converted into a dwelling-house, and in the Spring of 1850 it was carried down to the flats by high water.

THE ROSS MILL, HANOVER.

In 1826 Gen. William Ross of Wilkes-Barré built a small grist-mill on Solomon's Creek at the foot of the mountain in Hanover township, near the Inman mill just mentioned. This mill was operated by General Ross until 1830, when he enlarged and improved it. Two years later he added other improvements, which made it the most valuable mill property in the township. General Ross operated this mill until his death in 1842, after which, for a number of years, it was operated by his son, Judge Wm. S. Ross, of Wilkes-Barré.

This mill consisted of a two and a-half story frame struc-

ture on a stone substructure one story in height. The wooden part of the building was painted red. It stood in the midst of very picturesque surroundings. Twenty-five years ago the building was in a somewhat dismantled condition, having been abandoned as a grist-mill for some years previous to that time. All vestiges of the building have now disappeared.

THE MORGAN MILL, HANOVER.

Prior to 1812 George Mesinger was operating a small grist-mill in Hanover township, on Solomon's Creek below the present borough of Ashley, and near the south-west boundary line of the township of Wilkes-Barré. In 1814 Mesinger sold the mill to John Greenawalt, who ran it until 1821 when he sold out to Thomas H. Morgan. The latter ran the mill until 1837, and then sold to Merrit Abbott. He ran the mill one year, and then abandoned it. In 1840 it was in ruins.

PETTY'S MILL, HANOVER.

In 1845 William Petty built a very substantial frame grist-mill on Solomon's Creek in Hanover township, about one-quarter of a mile below the present south-west boundary line of the city of Wilkes-Barré. It stood almost opposite the spot where now stands the "Franklin Junction" signal-station of the Central Railroad of New Jersey.

The mill was of good size, two and a-half stories in height, and had four run of stones. It was run by water supplied through a race from a mill-pond situated back on the hill below Ashley. The mill-pond received its water from Solomon's Creek, into which, at the mill, the race emptied.

This mill, which was known as "Petty's Mill," was operated by the owner for a number of years. After the Lehigh Valley Railroad was extended through Hanover to Wilkes-Barré and beyond, the name of the mill was changed to "The Railroad Mills"—inasmuch as the tracks of the railroad lay within a few yards of the mill. In the Spring of



THE OLD ROSS MILL, HANOVER TOWNSHIP.

1864 Oliver M. Martin leased these mills and ran them until November, 1867, when he was joined by Charles W. Garretson of Wilkes-Barré as a partner in the business. Martin and Garretson carried on the business until the death of Mr. Garretson in December, 1870, dissolved the partnership.

From 1871 to 1885 "The Railroad Mills" were operated by J. W. Driesbach, and then A. P. Tinsley came into possession. He operated them until February 14, 1887, when the building was destroyed by fire. On the spot where it stood there is now a railroad cattle-pen, for the convenience of the owners of the slaughter-house near by.

PLYMOUTH.

Before the allotment of lands in Plymouth township among the proprietors, the owners agreed to set off fifty acres near to Coleman's,* or Mill Creek, and a mill seat thereon, for the purpose of encouraging the building of a grist-mill. This mill lot lay along the small stream afterwards known as Ransom's Creek, which flowed in a south-easterly direction in the lower end of Plymouth township, and emptied into the Susquehanna near the site of old Shawnee Fort.

The erection of this mill was undertaken some years later by —— Campbell and Gilbert Denton; but before operations could be begun the massacre of 1778 occurred, "in which Denton was killed, and his son went away without doing anything." His half-right in the mill-site was forfeited. Later Campbell began the erection of the mill, but soon sold his half-interest in the site to Samuel Ransom, who continued the work of erecting the mill.

In 1786 the mill was not yet in working order, and Ransom sold his interest to Hezekiah Roberts—agreeing to make a title to twenty-five acres of land and the mill seat.

* So called from Jeremiah Coleman, originally of Goshen, N. Y., who, prior to January, 1773, owned a "right" of land on the banks of this stream, and had built a house here.

James Bidlack then agreed to join Roberts in building the mill, but did nothing towards it; whereupon in June, 1787, the committee of the town voted the mill seat to Roberts—"being fifty acres exclusive of a four-rod highway"—and Roberts completed the mill the same year.

These facts have been drawn from the original unpublished minutes of the Pennsylvania Commissioners who, under the Act of Assembly of 1799, examined and settled, early in the present century, the titles to lands in the seventeen townships of Luzerne county.

Stewart Pearce says in his "Annals of Luzerne County" (page 216): "In 1780 Robert Faulkner erected a log grist-mill on Shupp's Creek, below the site of the present [1860] Shupp Mill, and about the same time Hezekiah Roberts put up a similar mill on Ransom's Creek." Col. H. B. Wright repeats this statement in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth," written in 1872 and '73, and adds that the foundation of the old Faulkner mill had disappeared before his day. (The Colonel was born in 1808.)

I think it is very certain that both these gentlemen were mistaken with regard to the Faulkner and Roberts mills. We have previously shown, by what may be considered good evidence, that the only grist-mill in Wyoming Valley in 1780 and '81 was Coffrin's little mill in Newport, near Nanticoke. We have also shown, by the most satisfactory testimony, that the Roberts mill was not completed until 1787. It is fair to presume, therefore, that the Faulkner mill was erected, on what was later known as Shupp's Creek, about the year 1787.

SMITH'S MILL, PLYMOUTH.

About 1808 Abijah Smith became the owner of the Roberts mill (previously mentioned) on Ransom's Creek in Plymouth township, and, having repaired and improved it, ran it until 1812 or '13. Then the mill stood idle until

1825, when Abijah's brother, John Smith, took possession of the mill and ran it until 1836. In 1837 Jeremiah Fuller took the mill and ran it for some time, after which it was converted into a distillery.

SHUPP'S MILL, PLYMOUTH.

In April, 1812, Philip Shupp, who had come to Plymouth from New Jersey a short time before, bought forty-two acres of a tract of land called "Mayfield," lying along the creek south of Ross Hill, and now known as Shupp's Creek. Here he immediately built a very substantial grist-mill, which for a number of years was the principal mill in Plymouth.

It stood on the west side of the main road running from Kingston to and through Plymouth, and was some distance up the creek from the old Robert Faulkner mill previously mentioned. Mr. Shupp ran this mill until February, 1817, when he sold the mill property and some contiguous property to his son Philip Shupp, Jr., for \$6000.

From that time until 1822 the mill was operated by the firm of Philip Shupp & Son. Philip, Jr., then ran the mill from 1823 to 1833, the year of his death. The building was then in a somewhat dilapidated condition, and was allowed to stand idle for a year or two. Having been renovated and improved the mill was run for a number of years by the heirs of Philip Shupp, Jr., and by one or two others to whom the property was leased. The building was torn down some twenty-seven or -eight years ago.

THE HARVEY-TILLBURY MILL, PLYMOUTH.

Early in 1785 (not in 1780, as Pearce states in his "Annals," page 216) Benjamin Harvey erected on Harvey's Creek, near Nanticoke Falls, a log grist-mill, which after its completion was run for him by his son-in-law Abraham Tillbury. When Benjamin Harvey died in November, 1795,

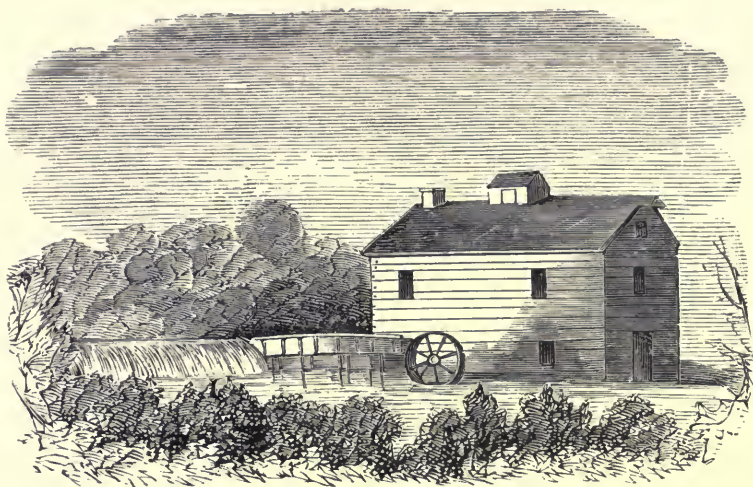
Elisha Delano was building for him a new grist-mill farther down the creek. This mill was completed in 1796, and was run until 1830 by Abraham Tillbury—to whose wife it had been devised by her father, Benjamin Harvey.

The following paragraph, written by the late Caleb E. Wright, Esq., and published in *The Historical Record*, Wilkes-Barré, in 1889, is *apropos*: "Near the river Harvey's Creek passes the base of 'Tillbury's Knob,' an abrupt ledge similar to Campbell's at the head of the Valley. It was near the brow of the butting ledge, on the waters of Harvey's Creek, and distant a mile or so from his nearest neighbor, that Abraham Tillbury established his noted grist-mill. It did the custom work for the farmers in a circuit of many miles around. Abraham, a silent, meditative man, wearing spectacles of the ancient style, whose glasses were as large as our silver dollars, ran the mill himself."

In 1830 the Tillburys sold their mill to Joshua Pugh, who ran it until 1833 and then had a new grist-mill erected on the site by Henry Yingst, a German from Dauphin county, Penn'a. Pugh operated this mill for a number of years, and also kept an inn near by for awhile. A more modern mill, erected not many years ago, now occupies the site of the Pugh mill. It is operated by Messrs. Bergen & Co. of West Nanticoke.

THE GRUBB MILL, PLYMOUTH.

In 1793 Peter Grubb, who had been a shop-keeper in Wilkes-Barré, but was then living in Kingston township near the Plymouth line, and was a farmer, a Justice of the Peace, and one of the Commissioners of Luzerne county, erected a grist-mill in Plymouth township on the north-west or main branch of Toby's Creek. This mill stood on the east side of the main road running from Kingston to Plymouth, and was only a short distance from the Kingston line. The stream upon which the mill stood was for a long time known in Plymouth as "Grubb's mill brook."



THE SUTTON MILL, 1776.

FROM "PEARCE'S ANNALS OF LUZERNE COUNTY."



CRANK OF THE SUTTON MILL.

In 1795 Grubb removed from Kingston to Plymouth township, where he resided and operated his mill until January, 1807, when he died. Then, for three or four years, the mill was operated under the direction and management of Peter's widow, Sarah (*Gallup*) Grubb.

About the time of her marriage to Agur Hoyt, and their removal to Ohio (in 1812), she sold the mill property to James Gray, a practical miller from Kingston. He ran the mill until 1814, when it passed into the hands of Henry Buckingham, a prominent merchant in Kingston. Under his ownership the mill was run until 1819. A few years later it was torn down.

SUTTON'S MILL, EXETER.

In 1776 James Sutton, in partnership with James Hadsall, put up the first grist-mill and saw-mill in the upper end of Exeter township. It was located about five and a-half miles due north from the battle-ground of July 3, 1778, on a small stream—then called Sutton's Creek, now called Coray's Creek—which flows north-east and empties into the Susquehanna. Hadsall was murdered, and the mill was destroyed by the enemy during the invasion and massacre of 1778, and the mill irons were carried away, except the crank, which is now preserved in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society as a relic of one of the earliest mills in the Wyoming Valley.

Several years later Samuel Sutton, a son of James, built a second grist-mill on the same site, and in 1846 E. A. Coray having become the owner of the site, erected a third mill, which was still standing and in use a few years ago, and may be now.

PITTSTON TOWNSHIP.

The first grist-mill in Pittston township was built by the people of the township at the falls of Lackawanna River, in what is now Lackawanna township, in 1774. The mill

stood on the north side of the river, and some years later an iron forge was built on the opposite side of the stream. In 1775 the grist-mill passed into the hands of Capt. Solomon Strong, and soon thereafter was swept away by a flood.

The second grist-mill in Pittston township was erected in 1794 by Joseph Gardner and Isaac Gould, on Gardner's Creek, in what is now Jenkins township.

THE HALLOCK-CONRAD MILL, PITTSTON.

Prior to 1820 Peter Hallock was operating for a number of years a grist-mill in Pittston township. In the year mentioned he disposed of the property to Samuel Conrad, who ran the mill until 1825 and then sold out to John Conrad. He ran it until 1829, when it was abandoned as a grist-mill.

THE BABB MILL, PITTSTON.

For some years up to and including 1818 Peter Pain owned and ran a grist-mill in Pittston township. Early in 1819 the property came into the possession of John P. Babb, and he ran the mill until his death in 1840. During the next five years it was operated under the direction of Babb's heirs, and then (in 1846) Edward Babb became the owner. He ran the mill for a number of years thereafter.

THE BARNUM-ROBINSON MILL, PITTSTON.

In 1819 Messrs. John Murfy and Isaiah Tyson, who had each, at different times, been miller at the Hollenback stone grist-mill in Wilkes-Barré township, erected a grist-mill in Pittston township. They ran the mill in 1820 and '21, and then removed to Canada. In 1822 this mill was the property of Joseph Fell, and in 1823 Calvin Wadhams of Plymouth became the owner. He soon sold it, however, to Zenus Barnum of Pittston, who, from 1824 to 1829 or '30, inclusive, operated the mill.

In 1830 the property was sold to John W. Robinson, Esq.,

of Wilkes-Barré, under whose ownership the mill was run until 1836. He then sold to George Sax, who owned the property one year. Judge John N. Conyngham of Wilkes-Barré then became the owner, and held the property until 1841, when he sold it to Henry J. Williams. In 1843 the building was diverted to other uses.

THE BUTLER STEAM MILL, PITTSTON.

In 1846 Messrs. John L. and Lord Butler of Wilkes-Barré, and Judge Garrick Mallory of Philadelphia, who, under the firm name of John L. Butler & Co., had been engaged for eight years in the mining and shipping of coal at what is now Pittston city, erected there a large steam grist-mill.

The engine and fittings which had been removed from the "Butler Steam Mill" in Wilkes-Barré were set up in this new mill, and in the latter part of 1846 milling operations were begun.

For a number of years a large and valuable business was done at this mill by the original owners, and by their successors.

THE CARPENTER-SHOEMAKER MILL, WYOMING.

As early as 1780 or '81 Benjamin Carpenter, a native of Connecticut, settled in the upper end of Kingston township, at the foot of the mountain back of the present borough of Wyoming. About 1790 he built a grist-mill on Abraham's Creek, at the lower end of the gorge where the creek breaks through the mountain, and later he built near by a woollen mill.

This locality—years afterwards known as Shoemaker's Mills—was for a long time known as Carpenter's Mills and Carpenter-town; and as late as 1830 the flats between this locality and Wyoming, or New Troy as the place was then called, was covered by a forest.

Benjamin Carpenter operated his mills until 1807, when

he sold them to Samuel Shoemaker and removed to Ohio. Samuel Shoemaker ran the grist-mill until 1816, and then Isaac Shoemaker, Sr., came into possession and continued there until 1828.

From 1829 to 1837 or '38 John Ambler owned and ran the mill, and then Charles Fuller occupied the property for about two years. In 1840 the property came into the possession of Isaac C. Shoemaker, who rebuilt the grist-mill that year, putting in all the new improvements in mill fittings then invented.

In 1841 the firm of Isaac C. and Wm. E. Shoemaker was organized, and they operated the mill until 1862. From 1863 until about 1872 Isaac C. Shoemaker was the sole owner and operator, and then Samuel R. Shoemaker became the owner. Prior to 1880 steam instead of water-power was introduced.

Forty years ago the flour manufactured at this mill was generally conceded to be the best manufactured in this valley, and it always sold for twenty-five cents a barrel more than other Wyoming Valley flour.

This property is now leased and operated as a feed mill by the firm of James Fowler & Sons.

THE TUTTLE MILL, FORTY FORT.

Prior to 1798 Henry Tuttle erected a small two-story frame grist-mill on Abraham's Creek, in Kingston township, just south-east of the road running from Kingston to Pittston. It stood very near what is now known as the "stone-arched bridge," almost on the dividing line between the boroughs of Wyoming and Forty Fort. Henry Tuttle ran this mill until 1812, when his son Joseph Tuttle came into possession of it. He ran it for twenty-six years, and then, April 9, 1839, sold the property to George W. Barber, who operated the mill until 1853.

In 1854 Elijah Shoemaker, Jr., bought the mill. It stood

idle until 1861, when Mr. Shoemaker reopened it and operated it until his death in 1863. After that it was run by a tenant of Mr. Shoemaker's heirs until about ten years ago, when, the building having become very dilapidated, was abandoned. About four years ago it collapsed, and its remains were removed. No vestiges are now to be seen, save a portion of the old stone foundation walls.

Thirty years ago this little brown mill, perched on the bank of the creek high above the clear and quiet waters, and overhung and almost surrounded by noble trees, formed a very picturesque view. Now the site is transformed into a barren, disreputable-looking, loud-smelling cow and hog-yard.

THE SHOEMAKER MILL, FORTY FORT.

In 1816 Elijah Shoemaker, Sr., erected a grist-mill, saw-mill and distillery on Abraham's Creek about one-fourth of a mile below the Tuttle mill just described. The grist-mill was a small affair, and was intended by its owner mainly for grinding his own grain. It was run by him until about the time of his death in 1830, and then stood idle until 1838, when Elijah Shoemaker, Jr., took it and operated it until 1841. Some years later the building was removed.

THE SWETLAND MILL, CARVERTON.

There were other mills in Kingston township, on Abraham's Creek, at an early day, but they were not located in the Wyoming Valley. In 1826 Uriah Swetland built a grist-mill on the creek near the present village of Carverton. He ran it until 1835, when it became the property of William Swetland, and under his ownership was run until 1846, and then sold to Comer Phillips.

THE SWETLAND-HOLGATE MILL, MILL HOLLOW.

Prior to 1790 Zachariah Hartsouf settled in Kingston township, on a large body of land purchased by him and

lying in and about the mountain gorge through which the main branch of Toby's Creek winds its way into the Wyoming Valley. This locality soon came to be known as "Hartsouf's Hollow;" but after the departure of Mr. Hartsouf from Kingston in 1808, and after one or two mills had been erected near his old home, the name of the place came to be "Mill Hollow." This name it bore until from it and contiguous territory the present borough of Luzerne was erected some years ago.

Prior to 1805 or '6 Zachariah Hartsouf sold to Samuel Atherholt one of the best portions of his tract of land, lying along the creek near the base of the foot-hill at the southern entrance to the "Hollow." Here Atherholt erected immediately a grist-mill, which he ran until November, 1809, when he sold the property to Peter Babb. From that date until early in 1812 Babb operated the mill, and then sold it to Joseph Swetland and removed to a farm in Providence township.

Swetland erected a distillery on the property, and ran it and the grist-mill until November, 1817, when, for \$5000, he sold twenty-two acres of land, the grist-mill, distillery and other appurtenances to Jacob Holgate and William Hicks of Germantown, Philadelphia county, Penn'a. Hicks took possession of the grist-mill and ran it (presumably for himself and Holgate, who continued to reside in Philadelphia) until June 17, 1831.

Upon that date Hicks conveys his one-half interest in the property to Holgate, who, in consideration thereof, "guarantees and secures to said Hicks and to his heirs, during the life of said Jacob Holgate and his wife, the one-fourth part of all the tolls and emoluments of the grist-mill." Mr. Holgate's representatives then took charge of the mill and ran it from July, 1831, to sometime in 1832, when Mr. Holgate died. The representatives of his estate then operated the mill until 1836 or '37, when it was destroyed by fire.

THE HANCOCK MILL, LUZERNE BOROUGH.

About 1838 the site of the Holgate mill, previously mentioned, was bought by William Hancock, formerly of Wilkes-Barré, but then established as a tanner and currier near the "Hollow." In 1839 and '40 Charles and John Mathers, two young millwrights of Kingston township, built for William Hancock a very substantial, although not large, grist-mill on the site just mentioned. The mill was painted red, and the first miller employed by Mr. Hancock was Lambert Bonham.

This mill was operated by Judge Hancock (he had in the meantime been elected one of the Associate Judges of the Luzerne County Courts) until his death in January, 1859, after which it was operated by the representatives of his estate until 1864, when it was sold to Atherholt and Lutz. They operated it for some years, and were succeeded by Atherholt and Houghton prior to 1873. Later David Atherholt ran it until after 1880.

About 1890 H. N. Schooley & Son came into possession, and now occupy it. The mill stands near the Haddock (formerly the Hutchinson) coal-breaker. For a number of years it was known as the old red mill, but some years ago it exchanged its red coat for one of lead color.

THE SHAFER-HOLLENBACK MILL, MILL HOLLOW.

Some time before 1813 Adam Shafer erected on Toby's Creek, about an eighth of a mile above the Samuel Atherholt (later the Hancock) mill-site, an oil-mill, which he operated until 1819, when he built near it a small grist-mill about one and a-half stories in height. He ran these two mills until 1824, when he sold out to George M. Hollenback, Esq., of Wilkes-Barré.

From 1825 to 1837 or '38 these mills were operated under the ownership of Mr. Hollenback, and then Thomas C. Reese & Co. ran the grist-mill and oil-mill until the end of

1839. After that the grist-mill building was used for a plaster and chopping-mill down to 1890. From 1849 to 1856 John Bartholomew ran it. The building is now used as a blacksmith shop. It is painted a dirty yellow color, and stands nearly opposite the small iron bridge which crosses Toby's Creek at the south end of Mill Hollow.

THE DORRANCE MILL, MILL HOLLOW.

What is probably the oldest grist-mill on Toby's Creek is the two and a-half story frame mill, painted white, which stands at the north end of Mill Hollow. The original structure is said to have been built in 1812 by James Hughes, Sr., but during its long life it has been renovated, enlarged, renewed and improved several times. Originally it was what was called a clover-mill, but in 1825 and '26 John Breese ran it as a grist-mill, and in 1827 Josiah Marshall and Daniel Gore ran it as such. Then it reverted to its original uses.

In 1834 Geo. W. Little came into possession of the mill and operated it as a grist-mill and plaster-mill until 1837 or '38, when he was joined by John Gore as a partner in the business. In 1840 Gore became sole owner, and ran the mill as a grist-mill only until 1845, when he sold out to Charles Dorrance and ——— Pettebone. They enlarged and improved the mill, and made it a valuable property. They ran the mill until 1852, when Colonel Dorrance purchased the interest of Mr. Pettebone, and business was carried on under his ownership until 1866.

In that year John S. Pettebone took the mill and ran it, and in 1869 purchased it and eight acres of land from Colonel Dorrance for \$7200. Pettebone ran the mill until 1871 at least; then C. B. Manville, and after him A. H. Coon, ran it. In 1880 Samuel Raub bought the mill, and after running it for a few years handed it over to his son Andrew G. Raub, who ran it until he built his Roller Mills

in 1892, a little farther down the creek. This old white mill is now operated by Scureman, Gangloff & Co.

THE RAUB-WRIGHT MILL, MILL HOLLOW.

In 1839 Geo. W. Little built a small plaster-mill on the east bank of Toby's Creek, nearly midway between the Dorrance and Hollenback mills. Later this property passed into the possession of Gaylord and Smith and the mill was used as an iron foundry. In 1855 Samuel Raub, Jr., bought the property, and immediately erected a large frame grist-mill, to which he annexed the old mill building after repairing and renovating it.

This mill was run very successfully by Mr. Raub until he sold it in 1869 to Thomas Wright, who ran it until 1890 under the name of "The Farmers' and Mechanics' Mill." Mr. Wright sold the property in 1890, and from that year until 1896 the building was unoccupied. It was then torn down, and upon the site a large coal-washery is now being erected by the Anthony Coal Company.

RICE'S MILL, TRUCKSVILLE.

There were other grist-mills in early days on Toby's Creek, but they were not in the Wyoming Valley. The most important, and one of the oldest, of these mills was that of Jacob Rice. He came from Knowlton township, Sussex county, New Jersey, and in 1814 purchased of Joseph Wetland for \$2500, three hundred and eighty-one acres of land in the vicinity of what is now Trucksville. On this tract was a small grist-mill which had been built by William Trucks prior to 1808 and operated by him until 1811, when he sold out to Joseph Wetland. Mr. Rice some years later enlarged and improved this mill. He ran it until his death in 1858.

THE BUTLER STEAM MILL, WILKES-BARRÉ.

As previously mentioned, the first grist-mill erected within the present limits of the city of Wilkes-Barré was built in 1781 or '82, on the south bank of Mill Creek, about one-half mile from its mouth. Inasmuch as the only valuable and available rights on Mill Creek were already taken up, and there was no other stream of water at hand which could furnish power sufficient to run a mill of good size, no other grist-mill run by water was ever erected within the territory now comprehended in the city of Wilkes-Barré; excepting, of course, the mill built by John Hollenback early in this century to take the place of the worn-out and behind-the-times mill of 1782.

The people of Wilkes-Barré who had grists to grind were compelled for fifty-six years to patronize either the mills on Mill Creek and Laurel Run, or the mills in the neighboring townships of Kingston, Plymouth and Hanover.

Some time before the next grist-mill was erected in Wilkes-Barré township the value of steam power had come to be fully understood, and it was being introduced into many factories and mills where water had formerly been the motive power. It was only in 1830 that the first railroad in the United States, for the use of cars drawn by a steam locomotive, was opened for traffic. Eight years later Messrs. John L. and Lord Butler erected here in their native town the first steam grist-mill built in the Wyoming Valley—or for that matter, in Luzerne county.

It stood on the east side of Public Square, where now stands the building occupied by the grocery store of Lewis Brown. The basement of the building was a sunken story of stone (in which the engine was located), and above this the structure was of wood, two and a-half stories in height. Along the front of the building, on a level with the first floor, and six or eight feet above the side-walk, was an un-

covered porch, reached by a flight of steps from the street. This mill was opened for business in 1838 or '39, and as long as the building stood it was known as "the Butler Steam Mill." It was operated at first by John L. and Lord Butler, but later by John L. alone.

In 1845 the engine, machinery and mill fittings were removed from the building, carried to Pittston, and the next year installed in the new steam grist-mill erected there by Messrs. John L. Butler & Co., as previously noted. In the Spring of 1846 H. B. Robinson and Lord Butler opened in the room on the first floor of the abandoned mill on the Square, a store for the sale of general merchandise. In the basement story H. and F. McAlpin established at the same time their stove and tin-ware shop.

The building continued to be used for miscellaneous purposes until May 26, 1855, when it and all the other buildings along the east side of the Public Square were destroyed by fire. At the time of the fire W. W. Loomis had his harness and saddlery shop on the first floor of the mill building, and J. C. Frederick and H. C. Wilson occupied the basement floor with their stove and tinware business.

THE THOMAS STEAM MILL, WILKES-BARRÉ.

The Wyoming Division of the North Branch Canal was completed in 1834, and for a few years thereafter everybody in this locality hoped and expected that the State of Pennsylvania would soon complete the canal to the New York State line. Our manufacturers, merchants and business men generally expected to derive large profits from the increased amount of business that would come to them by way of the canal; but their expectations were never realized, owing to the failure of the State to hurry along the completion of the important work.

In 1840 Abraham Thomas, an active and prominent business man in Wilkes-Barre, erected a large frame building

for a steam grist-mill on the north bank of the canal, north of Union and between Franklin and River streets. After Mr. Thomas had erected his building he concluded, in view of the state of canal affairs, that it would be more profitable to use the building for a steam saw-mill—which he did from 1841 until early in 1846, when he died. A few years later the mill was sold and removed.

THE HILLARD MILL, WILKES-BARRÉ.

In 1847 Oliver B. Hillard and Moses C. Mordecai, who had come to Wilkes-Barre, from Charleston, S. C., about a year previously to engage in mercantile business, began the erection of a large steam grist-mill on the north side of Union street, east of Main street, Wilkes-Barré. The rear of the building abutted on the canal, and facilities were there provided for loading and unloading boats. The basement was a sunken story of stone; the superstructure was of brick, three and a-half stories in height. Captain Thomas H. Parker, of Wilkes-Barré, was the builder. Exteriorly the building was originally about the same as it is to-day—barring the marks of age, decay and untidiness which it bears.

In the erection and fitting up of the mill no expense or pains were spared. There were six run of stones. The engine, boilers and appurtenances came from Elmira, N. Y., and cost something over \$5500.

Steam was turned on at this mill for the first time on Christmas-day, 1848, and early in January, 1849, the owners informed the public that they were ready to do custom work; and that "persons in town wishing to have grain ground" might have it sent for on giving notice. Merchant milling, however, was the specialty at this mill.

The Wilkes-Barré Advocate of January 17, 1849, referred to the Hillard & Mordecai Mill in these words: "It is a magnificent building—the machinery is extensive and of the best quality. The improvements made by these enterprising

business men have added much to the business appearance and substantial improvement of that part of the town in which they are operating."

Later in the year 1849 Messrs. Hillard and Mordecai dissolved partnership, and thereafter the mill (which was known as "The Wyoming Steam Mill") was operated by Mr. Hillard alone until his death in the Summer of 1861. It was then operated by his executors for about a year, after which it stood idle for some months while being overhauled and refitted. Sometime in 1862 or '63 Messrs. T. S. and W. S. Hillard, sons of O. B. Hillard, took the mill and ran it until the end of 1879, since which time the building has been used for a variety of purposes.

THE KEYSTONE STEAM MILL, WILKES-BARRÉ.

In 1855 Messrs. Horton and Richards began the erection of the Keystone Steam Grist-mill in South Wilkes-Barre next to the Vulcan Iron Works, at the foot of Hibler's hill.

The *Record of the Times* of December 12, 1855, said: "The building is up and the mill-wrights busy as bees putting in the machinery, whilst the masons are erecting the brick engine-house close by. The engine is from the works of Jones & Yost, their next neighbors, and will be some sixty horse power. The arrangements of the whole establishment are admirable, and when completed will be quite an addition not only to Wilkes-Barre, but to the Valley. The four run of stones will be on a solid platform on the first floor, and close together. An opening in the wall will have a trough running out to boats in the canal, which is within a few feet of the mill. By means of this trough, with a spiral iron turning in it, the grain will be brought into the lower floor of the building, and from there taken wherever wanted by elevators."

This mill was ready for business in February, 1856, and was operated by its owners from then until some time in

1858, when the property was sold at sheriff's sale to Messrs. Drake and Sterling. They leased the mill to Herz Lowenstein of Wilkes-Barré, who ran it for a year or two. The owners then ran it until the death of Mr. Drake dissolved the partnership. Shortly afterwards the property was sold to Messrs. M. W. Morris and R. F. Walsh, who took possession April 1, 1864. They operated the mill until December 31, 1895, when, on account of failing health, Mr. Walsh retired from the business, which since then has been conducted by Mr. Morris. The original, substantial frame structure, painted red, is still in use, and the property is called "The Keystone Roller Mills."

From about 1785 to 1795 the pioneers of the region lying along the North Branch of the Susquehanna River from Salem, in Luzerne county, to Owego, in New York State, were compelled to resort to the Wyoming Valley to have their grain ground. From 1786 to '91 the few early settlers in the vicinity of Owego found no mill nearer than Wilkes-Barré, which they reached by canoes as their means of conveyance. In 1791 Fitch's mill was established four miles above Binghamton.

As late as 1796 the inhabitants of Huntington township, Luzerne county, were compelled to bring their grists to the Harvey mill at West Nanticoke. In 1795 or '96 Timothy Hopkins and Stephen Harrison erected the first grist-mill in Huntington township. It was a small concern, and was located on Mill Creek, a branch of Huntington Creek, at the head of Hopkin's Glen.

Early in 1799 Elisha Harvey, of Plymouth, completed the erection of a grist-mill on Huntington Creek, at what is now Harveyville. This mill later became the property of his son Benjamin Harvey, who in 1837 erected in its stead a much larger and finer mill, which was operated for thirty-two

years, when it was destroyed by fire. It was replaced the same year (1869) by the large flouring-mill now owned and operated by the heirs of A. N. Harvey, deceased.

From 1779 to 1785 there was at all times almost a scarcity of wheat and rye flour in Wyoming, owing to the lack of near-by and convenient grinding facilities.

In 1784 Timothy Pickering passed up the Susquehanna River from Nescopeck to Tioga, a distance of 120 miles, and he says that he and his party tasted but once bread made from flour. Cakes made from corn coarsely broken in a mortar, or ground in a mill, were the substitute.

A good deal of wheat and rye was raised by the settlers during the period last mentioned, and many of them paid their taxes to the town with grain. At a town-meeting held in Wilkes-Barré April 8, 1782, it was "*Voted*, That the town treasurer be desired to grind up so much of the public wheat as to make 200 pounds of biscuit, and keep it made and so deposited as that the necessary scouts may instantly be supplied, from time to time, as the occasion requires."

THE NEW MINER-HILLARD CORN MILL.

Although this paper is devoted to the Old Mills of Wyoming, a few words about this new departure—the new Miner-Hillard Corn Mill, at Miner's Mills—may not be amiss. This mill, which is built of brick, was erected adjacent to the old Miner Mill, and completed in May, 1900. It is exclusively a Corn Mill, that is for the manufacture of the products of Maize, or Indian Corn alone, such as the various sizes of hominy, coarse and fine meal, corn-flour, what is known as hominy, feed, &c.

There is a large and increasing foreign demand for these goods, and the world is rapidly learning the value and economy of our corn as food for man and beast. The capacity of this Mill is seven hundred barrels, or thirty-five hundred bushels of corn in twenty-four hours. There is only one

other Mill of this kind in Pennsylvania, and probably not more than twenty in the whole United States.

It has all the latest and most approved machinery and has been pronounced by competent experts the best of its kind in the country, which really means the world, since there are no mills of this kind outside of the United States.

I will conclude this paper with an extract from one which I read on the general subject of "Milling and its Improvements," at the State Convention of Millers, at Gettysburg, Pa., in September, 1894.

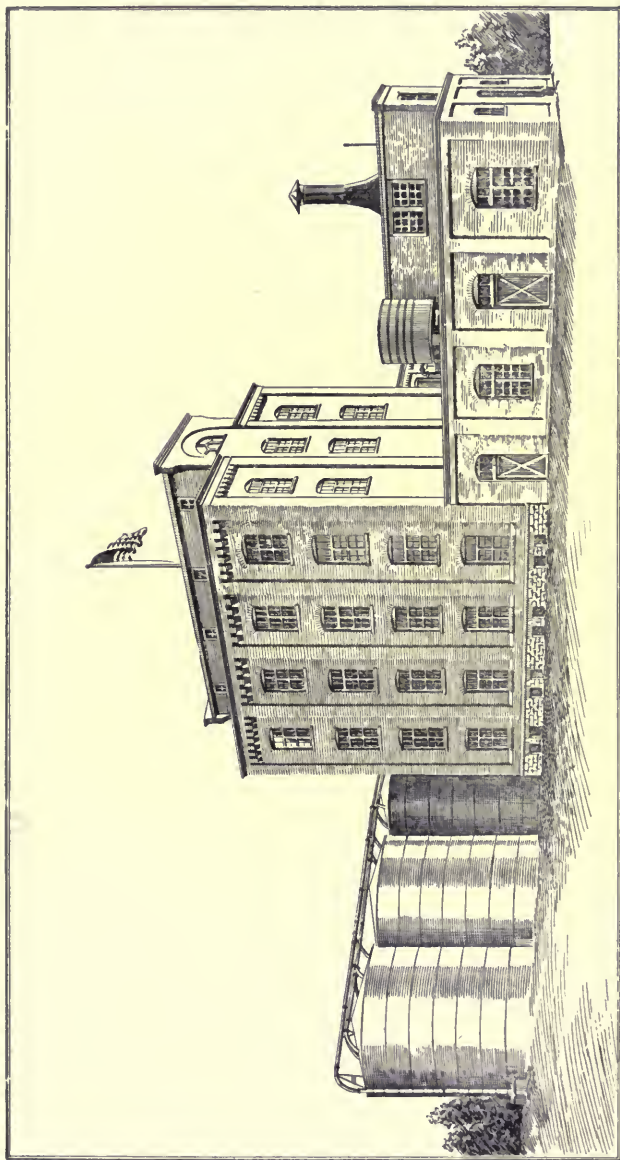
My personal knowledge of grist-mills and milling methods extends back over a period of almost sixty years; for as a small boy I saw a good deal of the old mill built by my grandfather and owned by him, and then owned by my father.

I came into possession of this old mill after the death of both my parents, just before I became of age.

At that time the milling business in this valley was confined almost exclusively to what was known as custom work, that is the grinding of grain of farmers for toll, which was one-tenth, or at the rate of one bushel in ten for grinding. The farmers had their grain ground into flour and feed and found a market for it themselves, and I am not sure when the competition was not too close but that it was as good a method of milling for the miller as the present system of buying and selling, known as merchant milling.

Under that system there were no bad debts to worry about as the work was paid for before it was done.

At the time to which I refer there were three mills on the same stream, from one-half to three-quarters of a mile apart—the Hollenback stone mill, the Stanburrough-Hollenback mill, and my mill—and all dependent upon the custom work of the surrounding farmers for their business. This made



THE NEW MINER-HILLARD CORN MILL.

ERECTED MAY, 1900.

competition very lively ; so close that at one time the millers instead of waiting for the farmers to bring their grain themselves to the mill, would, in their rivalry to get business, go with their own wagons and haul it to the mill, grind it and haul it back to the farmers, go sometimes as far as six or eight miles for it, and all the while the farmer's own horses were standing in the stable with nothing to do.

I also remember that at times when business was very dull and custom work coming in slowly, my heart would occasionally be cheered by the sight of a farmer driving up to the mill with a wagon-load of corn ears and wheat screenings, chiefly cheat or chess, to be ground, cob and all, into feed. We had cob crushers in those days, and I believe there are a few still left, but I think corn-cobs are worth more for smoking hams than for making feed.

But that kind of milling was neither pleasant nor profitable. On the other hand, the old-fashioned three-or four-story, hip-roofed mill, with its abundant and never-failing water power, and slow-moving but powerful overshot water-wheel, splashing continually day and night, and running perhaps three or four pairs of burrs on wheat, one or two on rye, one for buckwheat, in season, and one or two for feed or meal as occasion might require—a mill property like this, surrounded it might be by a farm of many fertile acres, with a good business, either custom or merchant, or both combined as was often usual, was an exceedingly pleasant picture to look upon, and a very substantial and profitable piece of property to be possessed of.

The owner of such a property was usually an important and respected citizen of the neighborhood in which he lived, and the surrounding farmers were dependent upon him for turning their grain into edible or marketable form, and for furnishing them a cash market for their crops. In short, he was, to put it mildly, a prominent man among his neighbors, and often a power in the community.

Such was the old-fashioned mill as it existed for many generations. The old mill with its humming burrs and laboring water wheel has long been the theme of legend, poetry and song, and will long continue to be ; but its usefulness has ceased to exist, and a new order of things and new methods have come about, and have come to stay. If any person had made the assertion, say forty years ago, that flour would ever be made on anything except a French burr stone, he would have been considered a fit subject for an insane asylum. But now, as you well know, a perfect and well equipped modern mill, for making every species of flour and feed, can be built without anything resembling a mill-stone entering into its construction.



EARLY HOMINY BLOCK,
FROM WILLIAM N. RICHARDSON, ESQ.

DRIFT MOUNDS OF THE SUSQUEHANNA VALLEY.

BY FREDERIC CORSS, M. D.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY NOV. 13, 1896.

THE SUSQUEHANNA.

The Susquehanna (crooked river), rising in Otsego Lake in the State of New York, receives the outflow of Richfield Springs and Schuyler Lake, a short distance from its source. Flowing in a shallow valley among the rolling hills of central New York in a southwesterly direction, it enters Susquehanna county, Pennsylvania, whence, making a great bend northwestward, it moves westward in New York, and finally enters Pennsylvania in Athens township near the easterly border of a level valley some four miles broad, which becomes narrowed to a width of about a mile a few miles below. In New York the water-shed of the Delaware lies but a few miles eastward of the Susquehanna valley, but westward, for about 150 or nearly 200 miles, the southern tier counties lie in the water-shed of the Susquehanna.

THE CHEMUNG.

The Chemung river, rising in midwestern New York, and having numerous tributaries, some of which have their source in northern Pennsylvania but a few miles east of the headwaters of the Allegheny, and draining an area principally unwooded and subject to destructive floods, flows eastward until several miles below Elmira, when it turns south and enters Athens township near the westerly border of the V-shaped valley I have described, and joins the Sus-

quehanna at Tioga Point, five miles south of the York State line. Roughly estimated from the ordinary maps, it appears that the waters at Tioga Point are derived from a water-shed of about 5,000 square miles in mid-central southern New York and mid-northern Pennsylvania.

BELOW TIOGA POINT.

One traveling down the river from Athens will notice that the river valley is bounded on each side by precipitous hills from 300 to 600 feet in height, which, in several places, approach so closely that the river flats are quite narrow and subject to overflow in the annual spring freshets. These hills, though broken and interrupted, appear to belong to the Appalachian system. At Wysox the river valley is broad, and the ancient flood plain is many feet higher than any freshets have been in modern times. The stream follows a tortuous way among these mountains in a general southeasterly direction, intersecting Bradford, Wyoming and Luzerne counties, to Pittston, whence it flows in a southwesterly course, between ridges of the Appalachians, until it finally escapes from its rocky barriers at Harrisburg.

TRIBUTARIES.

The chief tributaries are received from the west—the Chemung, the West Branch and the Juniata. It is interesting to notice that Potter county gives rise to the Allegheny, to Pine Creek, which enters the West Branch at Jersey Shore, and to the Cowanesque, which flows northeast and joins the Tioga, which also flows northward. Besides these larger streams there flow from the west, Towanda creek, Sugar creek and the Mehoopany, all considerable streams. From the eastward, though not east of the meridian of Otsego Lake, are derived the Wysox, the Wyalusing, the Meshoppen, the Tunkhannock, the Lackawanna. Each of these

streams has done its share in moving the Susquehanna drift material, and in its degree has affected its varied distribution. No doubt changes of elevation have in some cases changed the course of some of these streams, but the present general drainage is probably very ancient.

GLACIER AND FLOODED RIVER.

The water-shed of the North Branch of the Susquehanna and its tributaries, as far south as Beach Haven, was once glaciated, and the drift mounds to be described are probably vestiges of the flooded river epoch. The ice, coming from the far north, then more elevated above sea level than now, was probably several thousand feet thick in some parts and did not have exactly the characteristics of a glacier at the present day. It is important to remember that our modern ice rivers have been moving through their present regions for many thousands of years, and nearly everything movable or breakable by ice has long since been moved and broken. The ice transports but few rocks, and the subglacial stream contains almost no soil or mud in suspension. Opposite conditions prevailed during the ice age. The glacier encroached upon soil and possibly upon standing trees—upon broken rocks and crumbling ledges remaining from the preceding great upheaval. The hard pan product of the great ice age finds no counterpart in the modern glacial products. It was a rock powder, made into a paste with water, and is now slowly taking on the original crystalline form, like other sedimentary rocks.

Again, the modern glacier is measurably confined by the valleys in which it lies; it seldom mounts any high lateral hills, and it bends to the right or left to pass a high promontory. But there is evidence that the great ice sheet from the north covered all the hills of the upper Susquehanna. In this valley no doubt the ice ran higher than the present tops of surrounding mountains. The top of Kingston moun-

tain must have been well and deeply covered, for glacial grooves and striations are deep and abundant wherever there are adequate exposures.

The melting of this continental ice caused the flooded river epoch. The fountains of the great deep were broken up. Great lakes lay where now are rolling hills. The present channels were insufficient to carry off the flow, and mountain cascades broke over the lower summits on every side. In the deeper lakes the water quietly deposited a horizontal sediment of fine mud like the present flood plain of the river. Where there was a chance for the water to find a lower level, there was a torrent loaded with broken ice, rocks and soil. Great fields of ice were blown hither and thither by the winds, and often caused immense gorges, in comparison with which, ours of 1875 was a mere punctuation point. No doubt very fine hydraulic effects followed the bursting of these ice dams. Suppose an ice dam 200 feet high at Campbell's Ledge. The backwater would reach to Towanda. The sudden breaking of such a dam would move an enormous amount of solid material, the heavier portions being the first to be deposited as the water became more quiet in the broader valley.

These are the notions generally accepted by professional students, and appear to be the necessary results of the melting of the great continental ice sheet. What follows in this paper is purely amateur observation. One cannot help remarking that the amateur has great advantages over the professional. He has no reputation at stake, and is not hampered by possible objections. Where dates are wanting the imagination easily supplies all that are needed to complete the tale.

SPANISH HILL.

The valley in Athens township, between the rivers, is a fairly level plain of river drift considerable higher than the

highest modern floods. Upon it are situated the villages of Athens, Sayre and South Waverly. In the central portion of the plain is a large mound of gravel, bowlders, sand and clay, formerly called Spanish Hill. Probably the name still adheres. The flat summit, an acre or two in extent, is perhaps 80 feet above the surrounding plain, and has somewhat an oval shape. (I describe it from a memory many years ago.) Its sides are steep and water-furrowed. In short, it resembles in form, though not in color, one of our familiar culm banks. The early settlers supposed this to have been constructed by Spanish soldiers as a fortification. I have often heard Mrs. Perkins, daughter of the famous John Shepherd of Milltown, and author of the book "Early Times," speak of the remains of Spanish agriculture upon its level top. I can find no record of Spanish occupation, nor, indeed, a printed word upon the subject, and the notion appears to me entirely untenable. Immediately north of the mound and continuous with it is a hill of native rock in place, somewhat higher than Spanish Hill and about equal to it in width. In the light of glacial and post glacial history, as read in the geological record, let us picture the scene during the flooded river epoch. The glacier which covered the whole watershed of the upper Susquehanna has retreated under the increasing warmth as far as southern New York. The whole region is swept by an enormous torrent of water, loaded with mud, ice and bowlders. Confined by the narrow gorge from Ulster to Towanda, the descending flood is checked. Perhaps the whole narrow pass is obstructed by immense bodies of ice brought down from the face of the glacier—real inland icebergs. So the swift onward rush is stopped and the whole valley of Athens becomes a somewhat tranquil lake, the water flowing over the tops of the lower surrounding hills, as is still evident from water grooving in many places. The cobblestones and coarser gravel settle first at the head of the valley and the

fine sediment and sand at the lower part (Tioga Point). The stratified sediment gradually becomes deeper until the whole valley is silted up to the level of the top of Spanish Hill. After years the great flood subsides; the winter freezing is less severe; the ice gorge gives way; the waters sweep through their present channels and slowly carry with them the drift material which has filled the valley. But the knob of rock above Spanish Hill stops the current and protects the debris below it from the force of denudation and the hill remains, a symmetrical and wonderful record of its own origin.

TOWANDA DAM.

This is a fanciful sketch, but I saw its counterpart in miniature when the dam at Towanda was removed. The pool above the dam had been partly filled with river drift, which was partially washed away when the dam was removed, but several drift mounds were left, and are there to this day.

WEST PITTSTON DRIFT MOUND.

The same description applies almost word for word to the drift mound in West Pittston between the village and Kingston mountain. The hill is longer than Spanish Hill, and its sides less steep, but you can see the rocky head with the drift and sand heap below it. While the great flood was subsiding the river ran on both sides of the hill, which was merely an island in the great valley lake.

Wysox and Tunkhannock are built on interesting mounds, and water-worn rocks are to be seen in many places high up the sides of the mountains.

WYOMING MOUND.

The whole of Wyoming Valley is a drift plain, and the village of Wyoming stands on a large mound which is beautifully terraced in many places, as may be seen south of the

monument. Apparently the terrace was once the bank of the river, as in fact it is now during high freshets.

WELSH HILL.

The large mound in Plymouth called Welsh Hill was covered until a few years ago with large angular conglomerate rock fragments, which have now been mostly broken up for building stone. They showed some evidence of attrition, but were essentially angular. Their origin is very much in evidence if you follow Poke Hollow to the top of the mountain. You find a broad gap in the top of the mountain formed by the removal of the Catskill rocks which form the outer border of the red shale valley and of the conglomerate, or inner crest of the mountain. The whole mountain side shows evidence of a torrent pouring through this gap. In several places the exposed strata facing up the mountain are rounded and polished like the ledge about Toby's cave. The Welsh Hill mound is stratified or water-bedded. The conglomerate blocks are too angular to have been rolled very far and are not striated, and exactly resemble the conglomerate still in place on the mountain above. These data seem to justify the opinion that a torrent poured through the gap above Poke Hollow.

KINGSTON MOUNTAIN.

If you walk along the outer crest of Kingston mountain you will find plenty of evidence of glaciation but none of water erosion. Look westward across the rolling country and you will see—here a long straight row of mounds of river pebbles—there a rounded clay mound—there a shallow water course, including the whole country as far as North mountain. Some of the highest hills about Harvey's Lake are not water-marked, but the plateau upon which Lehman Centre stands is clearly water-bedded.

THE LEHMAN PLATEAU.

I consider this whole area of water-swept hills to have been caused by the Susquehanna during the flooded river epoch. The river pass at Coxton, if it existed at all at that time, or was formed then, would have been too narrow to have transmitted a significant portion of the flooded river which flowed from the great north. Harvey's Lake appears to have been a natural depression in the course of this great body of water. I have visited the valley behind the hill west of Berwick and find there the same evidence of ancient water action. I conclude, then, that the Welsh Hill mound was formed by material swept down from the mountain where the crest is lowered above Bull Run.

LUZERNE BOROUGH MOUND.

The same theory appears to account for the very interesting drift mound in Luzerne borough on which was a military camp in 1861. This mound lies between Troy Hollow and the old town of Mill Hollow. South of Raubville is Cooper Hill, which is part rock in place and in part sand and loam, which appears to have been continuous with military mound until a channel was worn through it by Toby's creek, along the banks of which Mill Hollow was built. The Cooper Hill mound was doubtless continuous with the mountain side until a channel was cut through it by the little stream running down from the George Cortright farm. The one large mound, which was cut into three parts by erosion, was somewhat circular in form, about half a mile in diameter, and from 30 to 60 feet high. The deeper parts are cobblestones and the higher sand and loam.

It is higher near the mountain and slopes gradually down to the D., L. & W. tracks. The Mill Hollow gap was a natural fault in the rocks, but water-worn ledges high up

the mountain side show that it has been much eroded. The drift material from this pass lies upon the marsh which extends along the foot of the mountain from West Pittston to Edwardsville, and must have been deposited long subsequent to the erosion of the buried valley known to exist under the marsh. Possibly this buried valley may be a series of pot-holes like those in Watkins Glen.

DRIFT AND GLACIAL MOUND IN EDWARDSVILLE.

If you follow the trolley road from Edwardsville to Plymouth Junction, immediately after passing McGowan's hall you find upon your right a large gravel mound firmly and horizontally stratified, and only a few steps beyond you pass through a small cut in a mound of very different material, which is not at all in layers except upon the surface. It consists of large bowlders and hardpan, with some angular stones. Many of the bowlders are finely striated longitudinally upon their parallel faces. They are typical subangular striated bowlders, and the mound in which they lie is doubtless an undisturbed glacial mound. Reaching Sheridan's Switch you will notice that a drift mound extends from Hoyt's Hill to Ross Hill. Furthermore, you will see that this mound is continuous with another which fills the whole valley between Ross Hill and the mountain, except where a channel has been eroded by Boston creek. This whole deposit seems to have been brought from Kingston hollow through the little valley between Hoyt Hill and the mountain, except a small portion consisting of cobblestones and conglomerate which appears to have rolled down the mountain side north of Bull Run gully already described. I suspect that the glacial mound I have mentioned was protected from removal by the meeting of counter currents, one being the river in the valley, the other being the arm reaching down behind Hoyt Hill from Luzerne. The sink-hole

near the Larksville churches is not a mine cave, but a chance depression in the course of the stream which carried the material deposited all about it.

Thus the drift mounds of the Susquehanna appear to be the records of a flooded river epoch, and to show by their position and structure the source and method of construction.

FOSSILS IN THE RIVER DRIFT AT PITTSTON.

BY FREDERIC CORSS, M. D.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OCT. 8, 1897.

To the active business man the study of fossils seems a childish play; but the naturalist can say with Duke in "As You Like It":

"And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

The history of the earth is no less interesting and important than the history of man, its last-arrived inhabitant. Man is more dependent upon the soil than upon his fellow man, and the study of the structure and developmental history of the planet has greatly contributed to the betterment of human conditions. Apart from considerations of utility there is a fascination in Natural History.

When one, after a long hunt, finds a fact in Nature, he realizes the truth—I quote wholly from memory—of Pollock's account of the man "Upon whose mind some new and rare idea glances and retires as quick, ere he has time to note it down. Stung with the loss, into a thoughtful cast he throws his face—reflects and re-reflects and tries to start the fugitive till something like a chance or flight of random fancy, when expected least, calls back the wandering thought long sought in vain. Then does uncommon joy fill all his face, and still he wonders, as he holds it fast, what lay so near he could not sooner find."

This society has an interesting collection of fossils (unmarked), found in the river drift of Pittston, presented by Mr. A. J. Griffith. As these are all erratics, they are not characteristic of the coal measures upon which they now lie, but of the various regions from which they have been

transported. The means of transport may have been either fluvial or glacial. In the former case their origin must have been from the north and west; in the latter, from the north and east. Some erratics from the far north Laurentian system may have reached the headwaters of the Susquehanna by glacial action and have been farther transported by the river. This is evident from the well known direction of the great glacial movement, which was in general from the northeast over the region now drained by the Susquehanna and its tributaries.

The enormous denudation which, together with subsidence, has reduced the Appalachian system to its present moderate elevation, nearly all occurred before the glacial epoch, and the flooded river period which terminated the glacial may doubtless be considered the chief agent of transportation of the fossils in question.

The drift at Pittston is from the watersheds of the Susquehanna and Lackawanna. The watershed of the Lackawanna is bounded on the east by the Moosic mountain, and on the west by the Lackawanna mountain until toward the north it approaches and joins the Moosic, as the Wilkes-Barre and Kingston mountains unite near Berwick. North of the coal fields the western limit of the Lackawanna watershed is Elk Horn mountain and adjacent table lands.

The valley extends northward to Ararat township, where it terminates, the drainage going northwest by Starucca creek to the Susquehanna and eastward to the Delaware. The bed of this valley in the lower part is upon the coal measures—to the north, of Catskill and Chemung formations. The mountain outcrops are conglomerate, red shale, Pocono sandstone. The numerous lakes which form so interesting a feature of Wayne county empty into the Delaware.

The watershed of the Susquehanna is much more extensive, including northern central Pennsylvania and southern

central New York, and the geological features are greatly diversified. Chemung rocks underlie the whole region, here and there capped by Catskill, and coal measures appear at Barclay and elsewhere.

Now, the collection of fossils we have in hand, consisting entirely of erratics, cannot be used to identify the horizon of any given region. So far as they are characteristics of the formations known to exist in the contributing watersheds, their presence at Pittston has been accounted for. In examining the drift mounds from which these fossils were taken, we find pebbles of gneiss and granite, which are nowhere found in place in the watersheds of the rivers. These foreign fragments are rounded and polished by attrition in water, showing that they have been much rolled and worn before reaching their present resting place. Many of the boulders containing fossils show the same evidence of far traveling, and while the earlier part of their passage may have been by ice, the later part was by rolling in water. The loose ground in the bed of the river is a moving body slowly rolling down stream. The long time required for such transit, and the exceeding slowness of the process of rounding and polishing, is seen when we pick up an Indian arrow head in the bed of the river and find that a century and a half or twice that time has not perceptibly dulled its point nor obscured its conchoidal fractures.

Among these fossils I find some teeth of fish, but I have not found any distinctively Catskill fossils which I can identify. The hardness of that formation probably prevented a general spread of fragments, or perhaps the accessible points were all swept away before the present drift mounds were formed.

Our specimens, then, belong to the Chemung series. These rocks are of a soft claylike structure, and abound in small fragile shells or clay prints of them indicating, if one may be allowed to surmise, that they were deposited in a tranquil

muddy sea of no great depth—tranquil, for such waves as now beat upon the coral islands of the Pacific would have prevented their growth or crushed them before the clay casts could have been formed. A part of the Chemung area is destitute of fossils, showing that local conditions varied when the formation was taking place.

An interesting feature of these remains is the frequency with which they are found heaped together or spread out on smooth flat slabs. We have beautiful specimens of each feature here.

This selecting and distributing action of water is seen in the extensive phosphate deposits along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. These, deposited several feet in depth and several rods wide, are hundreds of miles long, and consist of the teeth of sharks—a definite specific gravity and continuous current in the same direction doubtless caused their deposition.

The fall winds which are now blowing and heaping up the sere and yellow leaves of the forests in the corners of the fields show a tendency to segregate leaves of like size and weight—a trifling matter, but serving to show the uniformity and permanence of natural law.

Besides these fragile shells of spirifera and oviculopectens, &c., we find great numbers of fossil corals—remains of the limestone beds which appear here and there in the northern watershed. The corals, like the lingulæ, have a great persistence of life. We can scarcely say of the ocean with Byron :

“Time writes no wrinkle on thine azure brow,
Such as creation's dawn beheld thou rollest now,”

but the humble polyp has written his history in large letters on the globe, and the corals of the Niagara and other northerly formations show that a climate once prevailed there similar to that of the Pacific near the tropics.

An open question is as to the extent and location of Per-

mian strata in Pennsylvania. Until geologists had made careful examinations it was supposed that none such existed, and that the coal measures were the latest deposited within our borders except clays and gravels. Now, the flora of the Permian period form the main feature of distinction, and I can find no Permian fossils in the collection from Pittston. At Mill Creek the *allorisma subcuneata* has been found (a shell), which is, I believe, a Permian characteristic. No specimen of this is in the Pittston collection. A single specimen, unfortunately lost, was found by some school children whom I sent upon the search in the clay mound on Woodward Hill. As this mound was of transported material, the find was not determinative of the question.

It is a matter of great regret that the society cannot arrange and name the wealth of geological and paleontological material it possesses, which is now rapidly going to waste. Many rare and valuable specimens which have been identified by Heilprin and others, and which are referred to in the publications of the State Geological Survey, cannot now be found. With adequate funds at command we could present to the community and the State an unequalled object lesson. With a few thousand dollars to pay for the services of an expert, and some additional material which could easily be obtained by exchanges, we could become in geology and paleontology what we now are in history—an authoritative institution.

BURIED VALLEY AND POT HOLES IN THE WYOMING COAL FIELD.

BY FREDERIC CORSS, M. D.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OCT. 12, 1899.

One visiting Watkins Glen will notice a series of bowl-shaped pits in the rock forming the bed of the little stream, some three or four yards in diameter and as many deep, filled with water and having on the bottom one or more rounded boulders. These pits are called pot-holes, or sometimes kettle-holes, although the latter term is generally applied to pits in a gravel bank such as may be seen near the two churches in Larksville. Kettle-holes in a gravel bank may be formed by the uneven deposit of the wash when the gravel is deposited, or may mark the spot where an iceberg had lodged before the gravel was deposited, which remained in place while the gravel bank was undergoing construction, and afterwards melting left its pit unfilled. The rock pot-hole is apparently formed by the gyrations of stones caused by the motion of water, the stones becoming rounded and the bed rock being hollowed out at the same time. In a small stream the process of attrition is much slower than in a large volume of flowing water, but in either case it seems that an essential condition is that the stream shall not convey much movable solid matter, as in that case the hole would be filled up before a real pot-hole could be formed. This is the condition at Watkins Glen. The watershed of the stream is very small. The water remains very clear after a heavy rain, and so few boulders are rolled down its bed that the holes are not filled up. The few that reach the holes are slowly rolled round and round until they become spherical and finally wear out,

the small particles floating in the swirl of the water and finally flowing with it over the lower rim of the bowl. If the present conditions continue long enough these pools, as the Watkins people call them, will coalesce and the cañon will be deepened. After that, if a great wash of boulders should come down the stream the gorge would be filled up and we should have a buried valley.

Before taking up the study of natural rock excavations in the Wyoming coal field let us accept and adopt two laws for our guidance. The first is the doctrine of Uniformitarianism, which teaches that "essential uniformity in causes and effects, forces and phenomena, has prevailed in all ages of the world's physical history, and that the activities of the past were similar in mode and intensity with those of the present—opposed to catastrophism." The second is Sir William Hamilton's Law of Parsimony, which teaches that when a known adequate cause exists we should not invent nor imagine others.

The present study is merely an awkward attempt to read the facts in the light of these two laws, and by no means to try to make a landing where professional geologists are all at sea.

No doubt natural rock excavations, now filled with drift, exist in other regions, where like conditions occur, as well as in our coal fields, but the absence of mining operations leaves them undiscovered. The cutting of coal has brought many underground surprises, as the surface seldom suggests any unusual formation below. The Archbald pot-holes were found by the workmen, the surveys having given no warning; and the cave-in at Eighth street, Wyoming, was entirely without warning. The Annual Report of the State Survey for 1885 contains a chapter by Prof. Ashburner on the Archbald pot-holes, from which we may get the details.

The first hole was "discovered by the men at work opening a chamber from the air-way, where they encountered a

mass of round stones weighing from one to six or more pounds, which were resting like a wall in front of them, and which extended across the face of the workings, from within about one foot of the bottom of the vein up to the roof; worked around it and found the coal regular, with this pillar standing in an almost oval shape (greatest length about 20 feet); started to clear it out, and found it ran through the rock to the surface, a distance of over 40 feet."

A second or upper hole was discovered about fifteen months later (in May, 1885) some distance (1000 feet) up the same hollow as the first one occupies. Its dimensions are 42 x 24 feet at the surface and its depth 38 feet. Some of the pebbles were from the rock itself and coal, and some were of transported material. Mr. Branner of the geological survey describes the topography as follows, and you may observe that the words fit Watkins Glen: "The little hollow in which both the holes are located is one-half mile long, and in this distance rises about 95 feet in a direction of north 32° east. At the lower end of this little valley the hill tops on either side are about 500 feet apart, and in elevation about 70 feet above the top of the first hole, which is at the lower end of the valley."

Prof. Ashburner shows that the limited watershed of this hollow could have produced but a small stream, and adds: "These facts are presented here as bearing upon the possibility of these pot-holes having been formed during recent times by the fall of water resulting from natural drainage in the same way that pot-holes are now being formed in the beds of our mountain streams. When the maximum amount of water which could possibly be obtained during recent times to flow through the hollow in which the holes are located, the depth of the holes, their diameter and size, and the character of the gravel filling of the holes, are all considered, it would appear not only improbable, but absolutely

impossible, that the holes should have been formed in the manner suggested."

Mr. Ashburner then cites a letter of Prof. Lesley suggesting that the hole was formed by water falling through a crevasse in the glacier, which, during the glacial period, covered the Lackawanna Valley to a depth probably of 2000 feet.

Mr. Branner, in a paper read before the American Philosophical Society, says: "After having gone over the ground repeatedly, and after having made a thorough study of the topography of this region, and all that appeared to be questions that would throw any light upon the subject, the more firmly am I convinced that this explanation suggested by Prof. Lesley is the true and only possible explanation."

Quoting again from Prof. Ashburner, "That the cause of the pot-hole must be sought for during the glacial period there can be no question, because only during that period can we conceive of sufficient water, resulting from the melting of the existing ice sheet, to produce such a phenomenon," he concludes as follows: "In only two ways is it possible for me to conceive of this hole being formed:

"First. By water which always flows underneath a glacier, particularly near its terminus.

"Second. By water flowing over the edge of the retreating ice, at the terminus of the glacier."

He had previously given cogent reasons for rejecting the crevasse theory based upon the rock excavations. Let us bring these theories to the test of our laws. Like forces under like conditions produce like results. Does the glacier of to-day present the same conditions as the glacier which covered northern Pennsylvania? A negative answer is self-evident. The alpine glacier has been flowing through the same channel 50,000, perhaps 150,000, years since our northern ice sheet disappeared. All the trees and loose rock and rubbish has long ago reached its terminal moraine.

Here and there a rock breaks from an overhanging cliff and either rides upon the surface or slowly finds its way through the mass to the bottom. When it reaches the edge of a crevasse it falls to the bottom and probably by its weight remains in a pot-hole it may find, the ice flowing on over it. The ice of a modern glacier contains vastly less rock than in its youth. Considering its enormous weight and its irresistible advance, a glacier is wonderfully gentle in its work. Many years ago a traveler fell into a crevasse in an Alpine glacier and was lost. Forty years afterwards his body, wonderfully preserved by the ice and easily recognizable, appeared at the foot of the glacier.

In Larksville, near here, at the rear of the residence of the late Mr. John Keller, is a knob of soft rock which the glacier ground somewhat but did not displace. The front of a glacier is always melting if on land, or breaking off if in deep water. On land it is covered and bounded by a heap of rounded stones called its moraine, which fall into and fill up any pot-holes which exist there. In front of the morain is the apron, consisting of mud and smaller gravel stones which the water can transport. The farther from the front the finer the material. When a pot-hole is filled with bowlders their weight keeps them immovable. The harder the downpour of water the more firmly are they compacted together. The cobblestones on the bank of the Bay of Fundy are so firmly wedged in their places that one cannot pick one up. All that may have once been movable are ground to sand and mud, or have been pounded into some crevice which holds them.

From these facts I have no hesitation in believing that when a pot-hole is found filled with transported material, only a few of the bowlders, and *those* at the bottom, were concerned in making the excavations. Once filled with solid matter, a pot-hole is finished. These facts and our first law

lead to the conclusion that the Archbald pot-holes were pre-glacial.

The mining disaster of Nanticoke in December, 1885, with its pitiful story of the loss of twenty-six lives, is still fresh in the public mind. In cutting coal as usual the miners unexpectedly tapped a pot-hole or buried valley, and were overwhelmed by the inrush of water and boulders, which rapidly spread through the open gangway for a distance of 3000 feet.

This natural rock excavation occurs in the valley occupied by Newport creek—a small valley with a rock bottom which carried a small stream containing little solid matter, with a striking resemblance in its topography to the other places we have described. I do not find that it has been fully determined whether this pit is continuous with the bottom of the main valley of Wyoming, but the fact that it was filled with material like that in the Archbald pot-holes suggests that it was separated by a barrier of rock from the main valley. Otherwise the large boulders would probably have been borne onward to the deeper depression.

The Wyoming coal field occupies a long narrow valley—named Lackawanna from its northern extremity above Forest City to Pittston, and Wyoming from Pittston to Nanticoke. It is surrounded by a mountain on all sides formed by the upheaved rocks which in the valley underlie the coal. This rim consists of three strata of different degrees of hardness—the Catskill the hardest, the red shale the softest, and conglomerate. As these three strata presented their edges upward, the red shale lying between the other has wasted away more rapidly than they, forming the red shale valley which lies between the two crests.

The rim is cut through at the northern end by the Lackawanna river; next upon the northerly side by Fall Brook creek, and then by Legget's creek; and in succession by the Susquehanna, Abraham's creek, Toby's creek and Har-

vey's creek. At Nanticoke the inner crest is cut by the Susquehanna, which there enters the red shale valley. The southern rim is irregular in Spring Brook township, but is in the main one continuous ridge. The floor of the valley slopes towards the southwest. At Forest City the railroad elevation is 1481 feet above tide, at Scranton (D., L. & W.) 740, at Pittston (L. V.) 571 (35 feet above the river), at Wilkes-Barre 548.83, at Nanticoke 538, at Carbondale 1083. In round numbers, from Carbondale to Scranton the fall is 343 feet; from Scranton to Pittston 189; Pittston to Wilkes-Barre 22; Wilkes-Barre to Nanticoke 11 feet. These railroad levels do not, however, indicate the slope of the rock floor of the valley. Water is a great leveler. Sedimentation upon the flood plains is of course greater in deep water, and thus are formed our prairie-like flats. The rock floor is by no means level transversely. It is interrupted by anticlinals, which, while in the main somewhat parallel to the long axis, are afterwards found crossing at various angles. Another fact discovered in mining is that at some time water or ice flowed directly upon the rock, cutting a succession of pot-holes, or more probably continuous canyon, from somewhere above Pittston to Nanticoke. This channel is cut entirely through the upper layer of rock and through the top vein of coal as well. The cave-in at Eighth street, Wyoming, was caused by the men in mining coal breaking into the filled up valley, when the loose filling rushed into the mine, letting the surface fall in. The location of this rock excavation has been determined in some places by the process of sinking bore holes to find at what depth the surface of the rock may be found. In some places the drift is about 200 feet deep, and experts think that is probably the maximum, though there may be pot-holes in the bottom of the buried valley much deeper.

Now, if this rock-cut continued on down the river at the same depth, or with a slight increase, it would be classed

properly as a river canyon. But such is not the case. Nanticoke dam is 514 feet above mean tide. So that the bottom of the buried valley is 314 feet above tide, but at several points down the river its rock bottom is much higher. So it appears that the river canyon theory must be abandoned, provided it can be known that such a channel is always of uniform depth. I do not believe that such is the case. The bed of the river at Forty Fort is lower than it is at the jail. The channel of the Niagara below the falls may be hundreds of feet deeper in some places than in others. Especially may this be so if the rock base is of different degrees of hardness. Thus the canyon theory does not seem to be impossible of correctness. The supposition that the channel was caused by a sub-glacial stream during the ice age may be rejected on the ground that such a stream could not exist without an outlet.

That it could have been caused by the attrition of the ice itself is a supposition not sustained by any facts known to this writer. Our ice sheet was, geologically speaking, a very transient affair. I have examined many so-called glacial grooves in rocks, but have always found evidence that the groove was a natural depression in the rock surface, merely smoothed and striated by the ice and its burden. If this paper was not already too long I could cite many proofs of the comparatively gentle action of our glacier.

Again, the original stream may have had an undiscovered underground outlet. Such vanishing of streams is common in limestone formations, and Lime Ridge is only a few miles down the river. Again, our buried valley may be a succession of pot-holes brought to coalesce by long attrition. Whatever its origin, it was long ago filled with various materials. In large part this material in the deepest parts is a micaceous silt, such as underlie our river common, which has such a bad habit of slipping out from under the bank and letting it down when the water is very low. This silt

was probably the first onset of the advancing glacier. Since the most floatable matter would have been the first to arrive when the ice had reached the head of the valley, it began to thrust forward larger pebbles and boulders, which thus were deposited on top of the first arrivals, as now found. In time the whole area seems to have been filled to about 200 feet above its present level. Then came the flooded river epoch when the movable matter was gradually swept on down the stream to form the gravel banks found from Wilkes-Barre to the plains below Harrisburg.

REPORT OF THE
CURATOR OF PALÆONTOLOGY
ON THE
LACOE COLLECTION OF FOSSILS.

Since the last volume of the Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society was issued there have been a number of valuable acquisitions to the department of Geology, and much work of a practical nature has been accomplished along this line. The library, through the addition of many reports of surveys which the Society did not formerly possess, has now reached such proportions as to be justly called a working geological library. Besides works of a general and special nature, it now contains a very complete set of all reports of government surveys, the larger part of all the state reports, and many important reports issued by the Dominion of Canada. To the department of mineralogy has been added a rich and beautiful collection of the zinc and lead ores of Southern Missouri, the gift of the Zinc Mining Companies. The Curator of this department, Mr. William R. Ricketts, has finished cataloguing, and is completing a card catalogue of the extensive collection of minerals now in the possession of this Society. So that, from a practical standpoint, the value of the collection, to students and others, is very much enhanced.

During the year Mr. Ralph D. Lacoe, of Pittston, who was for many years Curator of the department of Palæontology, presented to the Society his very complete and interesting collection of Palæozoic Fossils. This collection was the result of many years of tireless energy and the expenditure of much money. Through this addition the department of

palæontology, already rich in the palæo-botany of the coal measures, is now very complete in its records of the flora and fauna as it existed from the Cambrian era to the close of Palæozoic time. From duplicates of the above mentioned gift of Mr. Lacoe it is designed to further complete a unique collection, arranged a number of years ago by the late Dr. Charles F. Ingham, Harrison Wright, Ph. D., Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., and the former Curator Mr. Lacoe, to represent "the crust of the earth," in which is shown typical specimens from the earliest to the latest formations. This collection has been found invaluable to the students of the schools of Wilkes-Barré and vicinity while engaged in the study of Geology.

A catalogue of the Lacoe collection, which numbers between 4000 and 5000 specimens, will be found in the following pages. The collection contains many duplicates, and it is hoped that the publication of this list will result in bringing about exchanges with other societies of a like character.

To the Corresponding Secretary of the Society belongs the credit of many days of valuable time and much painstaking labor devoted to the preparation of this catalogue.

LACOE COLLECTION OF PALÆOZOIC FOSSILS

IN THE

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

PROTOZOA.

- | | |
|---|--|
| Beatricea nodulosa.
Billings. Cincinnati Gr. | Receptaculites infundibulum.
Hall. Niagara Gr. |
| Beatricea undulata.
Billings. Cincinnati Gr. | Receptaculites globularis.
Hall. Galena Gr. |
| Coenostroma monticuliferum.
Winchell. Hamilton Gr. | Strophochetus richmondensis.
S. A. Miller. Hudson River Gr. |
| Coenostroma pustuliferum.
Winchell. Hamilton Gr. | Stromatopora arachnoidea.
Nicholson. Var auloporoides. |
| Astylospongia praemorsa.
Goldfuss. Niagara Gr. | Stromatopora concentrica.
Goldfuss. Corniferous Gr. |
| Astylospongia inornata.
Niagara Gr. | Stromatopora concentrica.
Var. Niagara Gr. |
| Fusulina cylindrica.
Fisher. Coal Measures. | Stromatopora confusa.
Nicholson. |
| Heterospongia aspera.
Ulrich. Cincinnati Gr. | Stromatopora frondosa.
Janney. |
| Microspongia irregularis.
Ulrich. Lower Silurian. | Stromatopora granulosa.
Rowley. |
| Nullipora crustulata.
Ulrich. (Receptaculites.) S. A. M. | Stromatopora papillata.
Lower Devonian. |
| Pasceolus darwini.
S. A. Miller. | Stromatopora sanduskyensis.
Corniferous Gr. Devonian. |
| Pasceolus claudi.
S. A. Miller. | Stromatopora substriatella.
Nicholson. Devonian. Silurian. |
| | Syringostroma columnare.
Nicholson. Corniferous Gr. |

COELENTERATA.

- | | |
|---|--|
| Acervularia davidsoni.
Edwards & Haimes. Cornif. Gr. | Alveolites goldfussi.
Billings. Devonian. |
| Alveolites davidsoni.
Edwards & Haimes. Cornif. Gr. | Alveolites mordax.
Davis. Lower Devonian. |

- Alveolites mordax*.
 Var. Niagara Gr.
Alveolites, new species.
 Devonian.
Alveolites niagarensis.
 Lower Devonian.
Alveolites squamosus.
 Billings. Corniferous Gr.
Amplexus intermittens.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Amplexus shumardi.
 Edwards & Haimes. Niagara Gr.
Anthropora concreta.
 Nicholson.
Anthropora emacerata.
 Nicholson.
Anthropora neglecta.
 Niagara Gr.
Anthropora nitida.
 Billings.
Anthropora, new species.
Anthropora shafferi.
 Meek. (Ptilodactylus.)
Asterocerium pyriformis.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Atactopora maculata.
 Ulrich.
Atactopora mundula.
 Ulrich.
Atactopora ortonii.
 Nicholson.
Atactopora septosa.
 Ulrich.
Aulocophyllum mutabili.
 Davis. Middle Devonian.
Aulocophyllum sulcatum.
 D'Orbigny. Corniferous Gr.
Aulocophyllum unguloidum.
 Davis. Lower Devonian.
Aulopora conferta.
 Winchell. Hamilton Gr.
Aulopora neglecta.
 Niagara Gr.
Aulopora, new species.
 Keokuk.
Axophyllum rude.
 White & St. John. Carbonif.
Blothrophyllum decoratum.
 Billings. Devonian.
Blothrophyllum promiscum.
 Hall. Devonian.
Blothrophyllum sessile.
 Davis. Middle Devonian.
Blothrophyll. zaphrentiforme.
 Davis. Devonian.
Bythopora dendrina.
 Jones.
Bythopora minuta.
 Jones.
Bythopora tenuis.
 Jones.
Campophyllum torquium.
 Carboniferous.
Cladopora expatiata.
 Rominger. Corniferous Gr.
Cladopora fisheri.
 Upper Helderberg.
Cladopora labiosa.
 Billings. Corniferous Gr.
Cladopora lichenoides.
 Meek & Worthen. Niagara Gr.
Cladopora pinguis.
 Rominger. Upper Helderberg.
Cladopora reticulata.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Cladopora robusta.
 Rominger. Corniferous Gr.
Chetetes fruticosum.
 Hall. Ham. Gr. (Monotrypella
 arbuscula.)
Chetetes furcatus.
Chetetes milleporaceus.
 Coal measures.
Climacograptus bicornis.
 Hall.
Climacograptus typicalis.
 Hall.

- Clisiophyllum oneidaense*.
 L. Dev. (Acrophyllum. S. A. M.)
- Chonophyllum niagarens*.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Chonophyllum nanum*.
 Davis. Upper Devonian.
- Chonopora papillata*.
 James.
- Chonopora scabra*.
 James.
- Columnaria alveolata*.
 Goldfuss. Black River Gr.
- Cyathaxonia cynodon*.
 Rafinesque. Keokuk Gr.
- Cyathaxonia gainesi*.
 Davis. Niagara Gr.
- Cyathophyllum americanum*.
 Devonian.
- Cyathophyllum brevicorn*.
 Devonian.
- Cyathophyllum conatum*.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
- Cyathophyllum corniculum*.
 Edwards & Haimes. Cornif. Gr.
- Cyathophyllum corniculum*.
 Var. Meek. Upper Helderberg.
- Cyathophyllum davidsoni*.
 Devonian.
- Cyathophyllum davidsoni*.
 Var. Hamilton Gr.
- Cyathophyllum fimbriatum*.
 Davis. Middle Devonian.
- Cyathophyllum juvene*.
 Rominger. Upper Helderberg.
- Cyathophyllum halli*.
 Edwards & Haimes. Ham. Gr.
- Cyathophyllum hallidum*.
 Davis. Devonian.
- Cyathophyllum houghtoni*.
 Rominger. Hamilton Gr.
- Cyathophyllum rugosum*.
 Hall. Corniferous.
- Cyathophyllum oneidaense*.
 Devonian.
- Cyathophyllum multicrena*.
 Davis. Devonian.
- Cyathophyllum radícula*.
 Rominger. Niagara Gr.
- Cyathophyllum scyphus*.
 Rominger. Hamilton Gr.
- Cyathophyllum validum*.
 Hall. Devonian.
- Cyathophyllum zenkeri*.
 Billings. Corniferous. Devonian.
- Cystiphyllum americanum*.
 Edwards & Haimes. Ham. Gr.
- Cystiphyllum decorticatam*.
 Billings. Devonian.
- Cystiphyllum grande*.
 Davis. Devonian.
- Cystiphyllum ohioense*.
 Nicholson. Corniferous Gr.
- Cystiphyllum sulcatum*.
 Billings. Corniferous Gr.
- Cystiphyllum vesiculosum*.
 Goldfuss. Upper Helderberg.
- Cystiphyllum vesiculosum*.
 Var. Goldfuss. Corniferous.
- Dekayia appressa*.
 Ulrich.
- Dekayia aspera*.
 Edwards & Haimes.
- Dekayia attrita* (syn. *aspera*).
 Ulrich.
- Dekayia obscura*.
 Ulrich.
- Dendropora alterans*.
 Romberger. Devonian.
- Dendropora asculata*.
 Dawson. Devonian.
- Dictograptus reticularus*.
 Ulrich. Cincinnati Gr.
- Diphyphyllum bellis*.
 Davis. Middle Devonian.
- Diphyphyllum coagulatum*.
 Davis. Middle Devonian.

- Diphyphyllum archiaci*.
 Bill. (*Crepidophyllum*). Devon.
Diphyphyllum archiaci.
 Hamilton Gr.
Diphyphyllum funicum.
 Winchell. Hamilton Gr.
Diplograptus pristis.
 Hissinger. (*Prionotus*). Utica Slate
Duncanella borealis.
 Nicholson. Niagara Gr.
Favosites amplissimus.
 Davis. Middle Devonian.
Favosites arbeiocula.
 Hamilton Gr.
Favosites arbor.
 Devonian.
Favosites argus.
 Davis. Devonian.
Favosites baculus.
 Davis. Lower Devonian.
Favosites basalticus.
 Upper Helderberg.
Favosites canadensis.
 Billings. Devonian.
Favosites cymosus.
 Davis. Middle Devonian.
Favosites digitatus.
 Rominger. Devonian.
Favosites emmonsii.
 Rominger. Upper Helderberg.
Favosites emmonsii.
 Var. Rominger. Devonian.
Favosites epidermatus.
 Rominger. Corniferous Gr.
Favosites eximus.
 Davis. Upper Devonian.
Favosites favosus.
 Goldfuss. Upper Silurian.
Favosites favosus.
 Var. Goldfuss. Niagara Gr.
Favosites forbesi.
 Edwards & Haimes. Niagara Gr.
Favosites fustiformis.
 Davis. Lower Devonian.
Favosites goldfussi.
 D'Orbigny. Upper Helderberg.
Favosites goodwyni.
 Davis. Upper Devonian.
Favosites hamiltonesis.
 Rominger. Hamilton Gr.
Favosites hamiltonoidea.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Favosites hemisphericus.
 Yandell & S. Cornif. Gr.
Favosites hemisphericus.
 Var. Devonian.
Favosites intertextus.
 Rominger. Hamilton Gr.
Favosites limitaris.
 Rominger. Corniferous Gr.
Favosites mundus.
 Davis.
Favosites nitellus.
 Winchell. Hamilton Gr.
Favosites niagarensis.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Favosites placenta.
 Rominger. Hamilton Gr. Dev.
Favosites pirum.
 Davis. Middle Devonian.
Favosites pinum.
Favosites polymorpha.
 Goldfuss. Corniferous Gr.
Favosites proximus.
 Hall. Lower Devonian.
Favosites radiatus.
 Rominger. Hamilton Gr.
Favosites radiciformis.
 Rominger. Devonian.
Favosites spinigerus.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Favosites tennesseensis.
 Niagara Gr.
Favosites tuberosus.
 Rominger. Corniferous Gr.

- Favosites tubinata*.
 Billings. Corniferous Gr.
Favosites venustus.
 Hall.
Favosites special.
Graptolithus clintonensis.
 Hall.
Graptolithus gracilis.
 Hall.
Hadrophyllum glans.
 White s. p. Burlington Gr.
 (Zaphrentis).
Hadrophyllum orbigny.
 Edwards & Haimes. Upp. Held.
Halysites catenulatus.
 Linneus. Niagara Gr.
Halysites catenulatus.
 Var. Lower Devonian.
Halysites escharoides.
 Lamarck. Niagara Gr.
Heliolites interstinctus.
 Linneus. Niagara Gr.
Heliolites megastoma.
 McCoy. Niagara Gr.
Heliolites pyriformis.
 Guettard. Niagara Gr.
Heliolites spiniporus.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Heliophyllum degener.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Heliophyllum gracilis.
 Rominger. Corniferous Gr.
Heliophyllum halli.
 Edwards & Haimes. L. Devon.
Heliophyllum halli.
 Var. Hamburg Gr.
Heliophyllum halli.
 Var. Hamburg Gr.
Heliophyllum helianthoides.
 Hamburg Gr.
Heliophyllum invaginatum.
 Hall. Devonian.
Heliophyllum irregulare.
 Hall.
Heliophyllum tenuimusale.
 Hall. Devonian.
Houghtonia huronica.
 Winchell. Cin. Gr. (Calapoccia).
Lithostrotian canadense.
 Castelnau. St. Louis Gr.
Lophophyllum proliferum.
 McChesney. Coal Measures.
Lyellia parvituba.
 Rominger. Silurian.
Michelinia cylindrica.
 Edwards & Haimes. Cornif. Gr.
Michelinia favositoidia.
 Billings. Niagara Gr.
Michelinia favositoidia.
 Var. Devonian.
Michelinia variety.
 Corniferous Gr.
Michelinia insignis.
 Rominger. Upper Helderberg.
Michelinia stylopora.
 Eaton. Hamilton Gr.
Monticulipora approximatus.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora astricta.
 Ulrich.
Monticulipora briareus.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora calceolus.
 Miller & Dyer.
Monticulipora cincinnatiensis.
 James.
Monticulipora clavacoidea.
 James.
Monticulipora clavis.
 Ulrich.
Monticulipora communis.
Monticulipora compressa.
 Ulrich.
Monticulipora concava.
 Ulrich.

- Monticulipora crustulata.*
 James.
Monticulipora dali.
 Edwards & Haimes.
Monticulipora delicatula.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora discoidea.
 James.
Monticulipora dyeri.
 James.
Monticulipora elegans.
 Ulrich.
Monticulipora expatiata.
 Ulrich.
Monticulipora fletcheri.
 Edwards & Haimes.
Monticulipora fibrosa.
 Goldfuss. (*Stenapora*).
Monticulipora filiasa.
 D'Orbigny.
Monticulipora frondosa.
 D'Orbigny.
Monticulipora frondosa.
 Var. *decipiens*. Rominger.
Monticulipora gracilis.
 James.
Monticulipora implicatus.
 Ulrich.
Monticulipora irregularis.
 Ulrich.
Monticulipora jamesi.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora lateralis.
 Ulrich.
Monticulipora lycopodites.
 Vanuxem.
Monticulipora mammulata.
 D'Orbigny.
Monticulipora meeki.
 James.
Monticulipora molesta.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora newberryi.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora nodulosus.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora obliqua.
Monticulipora onealli.
 James.
Monticulipora onealli.
 Var. *sigilaroides*. Nicholson.
Monticulipora petasiformis.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora petechialis.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora petropolitana.
 Pander.
Monticulipora pulchella.
 Edwards & Haimes.
Monticulipora quadrata.
 Rominger.
Monticulipora ramosa.
 D'Orbigny.
Monticulipora rugosa.
 Hall.
Monticulipora selwyni.
 Var. *hospitalis*. Nicholson.
Monticulipora subglobosa.
 Ulrich.
Monticulipora subpulchella.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora tuberculata.
 Edwards & Haimes.
Monticulipora varians.
 James.
Monticulipora vaupeli.
 Ulrich.
Monticulipora whiteavesi.
 Nicholson.
Monticulipora whitefieldi.
 James.
Omphyma verrucosa.
 Edwards & Haimes. Niagara Gr.
Pachyphyllum woodmani.
 White. Hamilton Gr.

- Pachyphyllum*, special.
 Var. Corniferous Gr.
Pachypora.
 Davis. Devonian.
Palæophyllum divaricans.
 Nicholson.
Plasmapora follis.
 Edwards & Haimes. Niagara Gr.
Phillipsastria yandelli.
 Rominger. Upp. Held. Divon.
Protera vetusta.
 Edwards & Haimes.
Stellipora antheloidea.
 Hall.
Stellipora limetaris.
 Ulrich.
Streptelasma corniculum.
 Hall.
Streptelasma profunda.
 Trenton Gr.
Streptelasma recta.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Strombodis pentagonus.
 Goldfuss. Niagara Gr.
Strombodis var.
 Silurian.
Strombodis striatus.
 D'Orbigny. Niagara Gr.
Syringopora bouchardi.
 E. & H. Upper Helderberg.
Syringopora, new species.
 Lower Helderberg.
Syringopora hisingeri.
 Billings. Devonian.
Syringopora sociabilis.
 Davis.
Syringopora, new species.
 Corniferous Gr.
Syringopora perelegans.
 Billings. Corniferous Gr.
Tetradium fibratum.
 Safford.
Thecia major.
 Rominger. Niagara Gr.
Thecia minor.
 Rominger.
Thecia ramosa.
 Rominger. Upper Helderberg.
Thecostegites hemisphericus.
 Rominger. Niagara Gr.
Zaphrentis calceola.
 White. Burlington Gr.
Zaphrentis centralis.
 Edwards & Haimes. Keokuk Gr.
Zaphrentis dentalis.
 St. Louis Gr.
Zaphrentis dentiforme.
 St. Louis Gr.
Zaphrentis elliptica.
 White. St. Louis.
Zaphrentis exigua.
 Davis. Devonian.
Zaphrentis exilis.
 Davis. Devonian.
Zaphrentis explanata.
 Davis. Upper Devonian.
Zaphrentis gigantea.
 Rafinesque. Upper Helderberg.
Zaphrentis patula.
 Rominger. Niagara Gr.
Zaphrentis prolifica.
 Billings. Hamilton. Devonian.
Zaphrentis var.
 Billings. Corniferous. Devonian.
Zaphrentis simplex.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Zaphrentis spinulosa.
 Edwards & H. Sub. Carbon.
Zaphrentis rafinesque.
 Corniferous Gr.
Zaphrentis var.
 Upper Helderberg.
Zaphrentis torquata.
 Davis. Middle Devonian.
Zaphrentis ungula.
 Rominger. Devonian.

ENCHINODERMATA.

- Ancyrocrinus bulbosus.*
 Hall.
Anomaloides reticulata.
 Ulrich.
Anomalocystites balanoides.
 Meek. Cincinnati Gr. (Named a
 Crustacean—Enoploura by
 Wetherby).
Cyclostoides magnus.
 Miller & Dyer. Cincinnati Gr.
Eretmocrinus magnificus.
 Lyon & Casseday.
Eretmocrinus vernuillanus.
 Schumard. Burlington Gr.
Erisocrinus typus.
 M. & W. Upper Coal Measures.
Eucalyptocrinus crassus.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Eucalyptocrinus bases.
 Niagara Gr.
Eucalyptocrinus caelatus.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Eucalyptocrinus caelatus.
 Var. Niagara Gr.
Eucalyptocrinus ovalis.
 Troost. Niagara Gr.
Eucalyptocrinus chicagoensis
 Winchell & Marcy. Niagara Gr.
Eucalyptocrinus, species.
 Niagara Gr.
Forbesocrinus ramulosus.
 Hall. Keokuk Gr.
Gilbertsocrinus tuberosus.
 Lyon & Casseday, sp. Keokuk.
Glyptocrinus angularis.
 S. A. Miller. (Gaurocrinus).
Glyptocrinus baeri.
 Meek. (Zenocrinus).
Glyptocrinus carleyi.
 Hall. (Mariacrinus).
Glyptocrinus cognatus.
 S. A. Miller. (Gaurocrinus).
Glyptocrinus decadactylus.
 Hall.
Glyptocrinus dyeri.
 Meek. Cincinnati Gr.
Glyptocrinus dyeri sublevis.
 S. A. Miller.
Glyptocrinus parvus.
 Hall.
Glyptocrinus inornatus.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Glyptocrinus nealli.
 Hall.
Glyptocrinus subglobosus.
 Meek.
Glyptocrinus sculptus.
 S. A. Miller. Meek.
Glyptocrinus shafferi.
 S. A. Miller.
Glyptocrinus siphonatus.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Glyptocrinus occidentalis.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Goniasteroidocrinus tuberosus
 Lyon & Casseday. Keokuk Gr.
 On same stone a Saphiocrinus,
 Platycrinus, &c.
Granitocrinus melo.
 Owen. Burlington Gr.
Hemicystites granulatus.
 Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
Hemicystites stellatus.
 Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
Heterocrinus geniculatus.
 Ulrich. Cincinnati Gr.
Heterocrinus heterodactylus.
 Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
Heterocrinus juvenis.
 Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
Heterocrinus pentagonus.
 Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
Heterocrinus simplex.
 Hall. Cincinnati Gr.

- Heterocrinus simplex*.
 Var. *grandis*. Meek. Cin. Gr.
Homocrinus scoparius.
 Hall. Lower Helderburg.
Hybocystites problematicus.
 Wetherby. Trenton Gr.
Ichthyocrinus subangularis.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Iocrinus subcrassus.
 Meek & Worthen sp. Cin. Gr.
Lichenocrinus offinis.
 S. A. Miller.
Lichenocrinus crateriformis.
 Hall.
Lichenocrinus dubius.
 S. A. Miller.
Lichenocrinus dyeri.
 Hall.
Lichenocrinus pattersoni.
 S. A. Miller.
Lichenocrinus tuberculatus.
 S. A. Miller. Lower Silurian.
Lichenocrinus warrenensis.
 James. Cincinnati Gr.
Megistocrinus marconanus.
 M. & W. Niagara Gr.
Melocrinus obpyramidalis.
 Winchell & Marcy. Niagara Gr.
Nucleocrinus verneuilli.
 Troost. Corniferous Gr.
Ohiocrinus constrictus.
 Hall, sp. Cincinnati Gr.
Ohiocrinus constrictus.
 Var. *compactus*. Meek. Cin. Gr.
Ohiocrinus laxus.
 Hall, sp. Cincinnati Gr.
Onichocrinus exculptus.
 Lyon & Casseday. Keokuk Gr.
Onichocrinus meeki.
 Hall. Keokuk Gr. (L. Carb.).
Onichocrinus monroensis.
 Mott. Keokuk Gr. (L. Carb.).
Onichocrinus ramulosus.
 L. & C. Keokuk Gr. (L. Carb.).
Pentremites conoideus.
 Hall. Warsaw Gr.
Pentremites elongatus.
 Shumard. Burlington Gr.
Pentremites godoni.
 DeFrance. Kaskaskia Gr.
Pentremites koninckianus.
 Hall. Warsaw Gr.
Pentremites obesus.
 Lyons. Kaskaskia Gr.
Pentremites pyriformis.
 Say. Kaskaskia Gr.
Platycrinus hemisphericus.
 M. & W. Keokuk Gr. (L. Carb.).
Platycrinus infundibulum.
 Keokuk Gr. (Low. Carboniferous).
Protaster flexuosa.
 Miller & Dyer. Cincinnati Gr.
Saccocrinus christyi.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Scaphiocrinus aequalis.
 Hall. Keokuk Gr.
Scaphiocrinus coreyi.
 Meek & Worthen. Keokuk Gr.
Scaphiocrinus decadactylus.
 Meek & Worthen. Keokuk Gr.
Scaphiocrinus uncus.
 Hall. Keokuk Gr.
Scaphiocrinus uncus and
goniasteroidocrinus.
 Keokuk Gr.
Taxocrinus multibranchiatus.
 Lyons & Casseday. Keokuk Gr.
Xenocrinus penicillus.
 S. A. Miller. Hudson River Gr.
Zeacrinus magnoliiformis.
 Owen & Norwood.
Zeacrinus mucrospinus
 (*Hydriocrinus*).
 S. A. Miller. Coal Measures.
Zeacrinus mooresianus.
 Lower Coal Measures.
Zacrinus acanthoporus.
 M. & W. Lower Coal Measures.

MOLLUSCOIDA.

- Archimedes reversus*.
 Hall. Warsaw Gr.
Archimedes wortheni.
 Hall. Warsaw Gr.
Bernicea vesiculosa.
 Ulrich.
Bythopora arctopora.
 Miller & Dyer.
Ceramopora alternata.
 James.
Ceramopora beani.
 James. With *Orthoceras duseri*.
Ceramopora concentrica.
 James.
Ceramopora multipora.
 James.
Ceramopora ohioensis.
 Nicholson. Lower Silurian.
Fenestella acmea.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Fenestella delicata.
 Meek. Waverly Gr.
Fenestella elegans.
 Hamilton Gr.
Fenestella multiporata.
 McCoy. Coal Measures.
Fenestella prisca.
 Lonsdale. Clinton Gr.
Fenestella shumardi.
 Prout. Carboniferous.
Fistulipora flabellata.
 Ulrich.
Fistulipora natans.
 Devonian.
Fistulipora oweni.
 Devonian.
Fistulipora peculiaris.
 Rominger. Keokuk Gr.
Heliopora harrisi.
Heterodictya maculata.
 Ulrich. Cincinnati Gr.
Heterodictya magnifica.
 S. A. Miller.
Heterodictya nodosa.
 James.
Heterodictya pavona.
 D'Orbigny. Cincinnati Gr.
Heterodictya plumaria.
 James.
Heterodictya ponderosa.
 Ulrich.
Lichenalia concentrica.
 Hall.
Ptilodictya falciformis.
 Nicholson.
Ptilodictya fragilis.
 Ulrich.
Ptilodictya fenestelliformis.
 Nicholson. Cincinnati Gr.
Ptilodictya flexuosa.
 James.
Ptilodictya granularis.
 James. Cincinnati Gr.
Ptilodictya nitidula.
 Bill. (*Antheopora*).
Ptilodictya perelegans.
 Ulrich.
Ptilodictya shafferi var. *robusti*
 Ulrich.
Ptilodictya senata.
 Meek. Coal Measures.
Rhinopora tuberculata.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Rhombopora lepidodendra.
 Meek. Upper Coal Measures.
Sagenella elegans.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Stictopora alba.
 Davis. Devonian.
Stictopora carbonaria.
 Meek. Coal Measures.
Stictopora cavernosa.
 Devonian.

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| Stictopora fibrosa.
Goldfuss. Trenton Gr. | Stomatopora delicatula.
Coal Measures. |
| Stictopora labyrinthica.
Hall. Trenton. | Stomatopora inflata.
Lamer St. (Hyppothsa). |
| Stomatopora arachnoidea.
Hall. | Subretopora angulata.
Hall. |
| Stomatopora confusa.
Nicholson. | Trematopora infrequens.
Hall. Niagara Gr. |

BRACHIOPODA.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Ambocoelia umbonata.
Conrad. Hamilton Gr. | Atrypa hystrix.
Hall. |
| Anastrophia internoscens.
Hall. Niagara Gr. | Atrypa impressa.
Hall. Upper Helderberg. |
| Anastrophia verneuili.
Hall. (Pentamerus). | Atrypa nodostrata.
Hall. Niagara Gr. |
| Athyris cora.
Hall. Hamilton Gr. | Atrypa reticularis.
Linnæus. Lower Helderberg. |
| Athyris concentrica.
Upper Helderberg. | Atrypa var.
Hamilton Gr. |
| Athyris lamellosa.
Leveille. Waverly Gr. | Atrypa var.
Niagara Gr. |
| Athyris var.
Keokuk Gr. | Atrypa spheriferoides.
Eaton. Hamilton Gr. |
| Athyris rogersi.
Coal Measures. | Atrypa spinosa.
Hall. Hamilton Gr. |
| Athyris spheriferoides.
Eaton. Hamilton Gr. | Camarella ambigua.
Hall. Trenton Gr. |
| Athyris subtilita.
Hall. Coal Measures. | Camarella hemiplicata.
Hall. Trenton Gr. |
| Athyris subquadrata.
Hall. Kaskaskia Gr. | Crania dyeri.
S. A. Miller. Cincinnati Gr. |
| Athyris subtriata.
Coal Measures. | Crania hamiltoneniae.
Hall. Devonian. |
| Athyris vittata.
Coal Measures. | Crania laelia.
Hall. |
| Atrypa aspera.
Hall. Corniferous Gr. | Crania parallela.
Ulrich. Cincinnati Gr. |
| Atrypa concentrica.
Hall. Ham. Gr. (Spheriferoides). | Crania scabiosa.
Hall. Cincinnati Gr. |
| Atrypa hemispherica.
(Coelospora. Hall). Clinton Gr. | Crania socialis.
Ulrich. Cincinnati Gr. |

- Chonetes carinatus.*
 Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Chonetes deflectus.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Chonetes granuliferus.
 Owen. Coal Measures.
Chonetes hemisphericus.
 Keokuk Gr.
Chonetes logani.
 Norwood & Pratten. Waverly.
Chonetes mesolobus.
 N. & P. Lower Coal Measures.
Chonetes scitulus.
 Hall. Devonian.
Chonetes var.
 Hamilton Gr.
Chonetes setigeras.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Chonetes shumardanus.
 DeKoniuck. Lower Carboniferous.
Chonetes syrtalis.
 Hamilton Gr.
Chonetes verneuillianus.
 Norwood & Pratt. Coal Measures.
Chonetes yandelliana.
 Hall. Carboniferous Gr.
Chonetes, species.
 Lower Carboniferous.
Cryptonella calvini.
 Whitfield. Chemung. Devonian.
Coelospira hemispherica.
 Hall. Upper Silurian.
Cyrtina hamiltonensis.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Discina grandis.
 Vanuxem. Hamilton Gr.
Discina lodensis.
 Vanuxem. Hamilton Gr.
Discina kidita.
 Coal Measures.
Discina media.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Discina meekana.
 Whitfield. Coal Measures.
Discina newberryi.
 Sub. Carboniferous Shale.
Discina nitida.
 Coal Measures.
Discina sublamellosa.
 Ulrich.
Discina tenuistrata.
 Ulrich.
Discina var.
Eatonia peculiaris.
 Conrad. Lower Helderberg Gr.
Eichwaldia reticulata.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Leiorhynchus globuliforme.
 Vanuxem. Chemung Gr.
Leiorhynchus kellogi.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Leiorhynchus limitare.
 Vanuxem. Hamilton Gr.
Leiorhynchus multicosta.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Leiorhynchus quadricostatum
 Vanuxem. Hamilton Gr.
Leiorhynchus, species.
 Hamilton Gr.
Leptaena plicatella.
 Ulrich. Cincinnati Gr.
Leptaena sericea.
 Sowerby. Trenton Gr.
Leptaena sericea, var. (aspera).
 James. Cincinnati Gr.
Leptobolus lepis.
 Hall.
Leptocoelia acutiplicata.
 Conrad. Upper Helderberg Gr.
Lingula belliformis.
 Cincinnati Gr.
Lingula cuneata.
 Conrad. Medina Gr.
Lingula densa.
 Hall. Chemung Gr.

- Lingula ligea.*
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
- Lingula melie.*
 Hall. Waverly Gr.
- Lingula mytiloides.*
 Sowerly. Coal Measures.
- Lingula norwoodi.*
 James. Cincinnati Gr.
- Lingula paliformis.*
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
- Lingula punctata.*
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
- Lingula quadrata.*
 Eichwald. Upper Silurian.
- Lingula riciniformis.*
 Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
- Lingula spatulata.*
 Vanuxem. Black Shale Gr.
- Lingula umbonata.*
 Cox. Coal Measures.
- Lingula vanhorni.*
 S. A. Miller. Cincinnati Gr.
- Lingulella cincinnatiensis.*
 Hall and Whitfield. Cin. Gr.
- Meekella striatacostata.*
 Cox. Coal Measures.
- Merista lata.*
 Hall. Oriskany Sandstone.
- Meristella bella.*
 Hall. Lower Helderberg.
- Meristella cylindrica.*
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Meristella laevis.*
 Vanuxem. Carboniferous.
- Meristella nasuta.*
 Conrad. Corniferous.
- Meristina maria.*
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Meristina nitida.*
 Hall.
- Nucleospira concinni.*
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
- Nucleospira pisiformis.*
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Orthis bellula.*
 James.
- Orthis biforata.*
 Schlotheim.
- Orthis biforata acutilirata.*
 James. Cincinnati Gr.
- Orthis biforata.*
 James. Var. cypha.
- Orthis biforata.*
 James. Var. laticostata.
- Orthis biforata.*
 VonBuch. Var. lynx.
- Orthis binneyi.*
 James.
- Orthis borealis.*
 Billings.
- Orthis crassa.*
 James.
- Orthis cincinnatiensis.*
 James.
- Orthis cyclas.*
 James. (Multisecta. Meek).
- Orthis disparilis.*
 Conrad.
- Orthis dubia.*
 Hall.
- Orthis ella.*
 Hall. (Sectastriata. Ulrich).
- Orthis elegantula.*
 Dalman.
- Orthis emacerata.*
 Hall.
- Orthis fissicasta.*
 Hall.
- Orthis hipparionyx.*
 Oriskany.
- Orthis hybrida.*
 Sowerby.
- Orthis impressa.*
 Hall.

- Orthis insculpta.*
 Hall.
Orthis iowensis.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Orthis jamesi.
 Hall.
Orthis linneyi.
 James.
Orthis lynx.
 Eichwald.
Orthis michelini.
 L'Eveille.
Orthis michelini.
 Hall. Var. *burlingtonensis*.
Orthis multisecta.
 James.
Orthis occidentalis.
 Hall.
Orthis orbicularis.
 Sowerby.
Orthis pectinella.
 Conrad.
Orthis penelope.
 Hall. Hamilton.
Orthis plicatella.
 Hall.
Orthis pisum.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Orthis propinqua.
 Hall.
Orthis resupinoides.
 Cox.
Orthis retrorsa.
 Salter.
Orthis scovilli.
 James.
Orthis subquadrata.
Orthis testudinaria.
 Dalman.
Orthis testudinaria.
 James. Var. *jugosa*.
Orthis tricenaria.
 Conrad.
- Orthis triplicata.*
 Meek.
Orthis tullensis.
Orthis vanuxemi.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Pentamerella papilionensis.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Pentamerus galeatus.
 Dalman. Lower Helderberg.
Pentamerus oblongus.
 Sowerby. Niagara Gr.
Pentamerus pseudogaleatus.
 Hall. Upper Silurian.
Pholidops cincinnatiensis.
 Hall.
Productella lachrymosa.
Productella spinulicosta.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Productella subaculeata.
 Murchison.
Productella subalata.
Productus burlingtonensis.
 Hall. Lower Carboniferous.
Productus cestriensis.
 Norwood & Pratten. Coal Meas.
Productus cora.
 D'Orbigny.
Productus costatus.
 Sowerby.
Productus flemingi.
 Sowerby. Lower Carboniferous.
Productus lasallensis.
 Worthen. Lower Coal Measures.
Productus laevicostus.
Productus longispinus.
 Sowerby.
Productus mesialis.
 Hall. Keokuk Gr.
Productus muricatus.
 Norwood & Pratten. Coal Meas.
Productus nanus.
 Meek & Worthen. Coal Measures.

- Productus nodosus.*
 Newberry. Coal Measures.
- Productus nebraskensis.*
 Owen. Coal Measures.
- Productus parvus.*
 Meek & Worthen. Coal Measures.
- Productus prattenanus.*
 Norwood. Coal Measures.
- Productus portlockanus.*
 Norwood & Pratten. Coal Meas.
- Productus punctatus.*
 Martin. Coal Measures.
- Productus semireticularis.*
 Martin. Coal Measures.
- Productus splendens.*
 Norwood & Pratten. Coal Meas.
- Productus spinulicosta.*
 Hall. Dev. (*Productella* Spin.)
- Productus symmetricus.*
 McChesney. Coal Measures.
- Productus wilberianus.*
 McChesney. Coal Measures.
- Retzia evax.*
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Retzia mormoni.*
 Marcou. Coal Measures.
- Rensselaeria ovalis.*
 Hall. Oriskany.
- Rensselaeria ovoides.*
 Eaton. Oriskany.
- Rhynchonella acinus.*
 Hall. Upper Silurian. Niag. Gr.
- Rhynchonella capax.*
 Conrad. Trenton Gr.
- Rhynchonella capax.*
 Whitfield. Var. *perlamellosa*.
 Cincinnati Gr.
- Rhynchonella contracta.*
 Chemung Gr. (*Stenoschisma contractum*).
- Rhynchonella congregata.*
 Conrad. (*Stenoschisma congregata*)
- Rhynchonella cuneata.*
 Dalman. Niagara Gr.
- Rhynchonella dentata.*
 Hall.
- Rhynchonella dotis.*
 Hall. (*Stenoschisma*). Ham. Gr.
- Rhynchonella indianensis.*
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Rhynchonella mutabilis.*
 Hall. Lower Helderberg.
- Rhynchonella neglecta.*
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Rhynchonella nobilis.*
 Hall.
- Rhynchonella plena.*
 Hall. Trenton Gr.
- Rhynchonella prolifica.*
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
- Rhynchonella recinula.*
 Hall. Warsaw Gr.
- Rhynchonella simplicata.*
 Conrad. Lower Helderberg.
- Rhynchonella tennesseensis.*
 Roemer. Niagara Gr.
- Rhynchonella tethys.*
 Billings. Corniferous.
- Rhynchonella uta.*
 Marcou. Coal Measures.
- Rhynchonella ventricosa.*
 Hall. Lower Helderberg.
- Rhynchonella venustula.*
 Hall. Fully limestone.
- Rhynchonella whitiana.*
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Rhynchotretra quadriplicata.*
 S. A. Miller.
- Stenoschisma sapha.*
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
- Stenochisma contractum.*
 Hall. Chemung Gr.
- Spirifer acuminatus.*
 Conrad. Corniferous Gr.
- Spirifer aranata.*
 Oriskany. Sandstone.

- Spirifer alta*.
 Hall. Chemung Gr.
Spirifer arenosus.
 Conrad. Oriskany.
Spirifer arrectus.
 Hall. Oriskany.
Spirifer cameratus.
 Coal Measures.
Spirifer capax.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Spirifer carteri.
 Hall. Waverly Gr.
Spirifer crispa.
 Hisinger. Niagara Gr.
Spirifer cyclostomus.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Spirifer disjuncta.
 Sowerby. Chemung Gr.
Spirifer euruteines.
 Owen. Hamilton. Devonian.
Spirifer forbesi.
 Norwood & Pratten. Burlington Gr.
Spirifer fornacula.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Spirifer granulifera.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Spirifer gregarius.
 Clapp. Corniferous.
Spirifer grimesi.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Spirifer hungerfordi.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Spirifer leidyi.
 Norwood & Pratten. Chester Gr.
Spirifer lineatus.
 Martin. Coal Measures.
Spirifer macrothyris.
 Hall. Corniferous.
Spirifer marcyi.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Spirifer medialis.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Spirifer mucronotus.
 Conrad. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Spirifer opimus.
 Hall. Coal Measures.
Spirifer orestes.
 Hall. Chemung Gr. Devonian.
Spirifer oweni.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Spirifer parryana.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Spirifer pennatus.
 Owen. Hamilton Gr. Dev.
Spirifer planoconvexa.
 Coal Measures.
Spirifer plenus.
 Hall. Burlington Gr.
Spirifer pseudolineatus.
 Hall. Burlington Gr.
Spirifer radiata.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Spirifer royissi.
 Keokuk Gr.
Spirifer tullius.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Spirifer vanuxemi.
 Hall. Lower Helderberg.
Spirifer vanuxemi.
 Hall. Var. Tentaculites. Silurian.
Spirifer varicosa.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Spirifer whitneyi.
 Hall. Chemung Gr.
Spirifer zeizac.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Spiriferina kentuckyensis.
 Shumow. Coal Measures.
Schizocrania pilosa.
 Hall. Trenton Gr.
Streptorhynchus arctostriat'm
Streptorhynchus crassum.
 Meek & Worthen. Coal Meas.
Streptorhynchus elongatus.
 James.

- Streptorhynchus filitextum*.
Hall.
Streptorhynchus hallianus.
S. A. Miller.
Streptorhynchus nutans.
James.
Streptorhynch. planoconvexus
Hall.
Streptorhynchus subplanus.
Conrad.
Streptorhynchus subtentus.
Conrad.
Streptorhynchus subtentus.
Hall. Var. *planumbonus*.
Streptorhynchus sulcatus.
Streptorhynchus tenuis.
Hall.
Streptorhynchus vetustus.
James.
Strophodonta arcuta.
Hall. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Strophodonta demissa.
Conrad. Corniferous. Devonian.
Strophodonta canace.
Hall & Whitfield. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Strophodonta concava.
Hall. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Strophodonta hemispherica.
Hall. Corniferous.
Strophodonta hybrida.
Hall. Chemung Gr.
Strophodonta inaequistriata.
Conrad. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Strophodonta perplana.
Hall. Var. *nervosa*. Hamilton Gr.
Strophodonta reversa.
Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Strophodonta striata.
Hall. Niagara Gr.
Strophomena alternata.
Conrad. Trenton Gr.
Strophomena alternata.
Hall. Var. *alternistriata*.
Strophomena alternata.
Hall. Var. *loxorhytus*. Meek.
Strophomena alternata.
Var. *nasuta*. Conrad.
Strophomena arctostriata.
Hall. (*Streptorhynchus*.)
Strophomena fracta.
Meek.
Strophomena rhomboidalis.
Wilkins.
Strophomena subplana.
Conrad.
Strophomena squamula.
James.
Strophomena ulrichi.
James.
Syntrielsma hemiplicatum.
Hall. Coal Measures.
Terebratula bovidens.
Morton. Coal Measures.
Terebratula endura.
Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Terebratula hastata.
DeKoninck. (*Dielasma*) Coal Measures.
Terebratula lincklaeni.
Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Terebratula trinuclea.
Hall. Warsaw Gr.
Trematis dyeri.
S. A. Miller.
Trematis millepunctata.
Hall.
Trematis punctostriata.
Hall.
Trematospira quadriplicata.
S. A. Miller.
Tropidoleptus carinatus.
Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Waldheimia vulgari.

Zygospira cincinnatiensis.
James.

Zygospira concentrica.
Ulrich.

Zygospira erratica.
Davidson. Trenton Gr.

Zygospira headi.
Billings.

Zygospira kentuckyensis.
James.

Zygospira modesta.
Hall.

PTEROPODA.

Coleolus aciculatus.
Hall. Hamilton Gr.

Coleolus tenuistriatus.
Hamilton Gr.

Conularia formosae.
Miller & Dyer. Cincinnati Gr.

Conularia newberryi.
Winchell. Waverly Gr.

Conularia subcarbonaria.
Meek & Worthen. Keokuk Gr.

Conularia trentoniensis.
Hall. Trenton Gr.

Conularia species.

Conularia undulata.
Conrad. Hamilton Gr.

Hyalithes americanus.
Billings.

Tentaculites gyracanthus.
Eaton. Lower Helderberg.

Tentaculites richmandensis.
S. A. Miller.

Tentaculites sterlingensis.
Meek and Worthen.

Tentaculites fissurella.
Hall. Hamilton Gr.

Tentaculites irregularis.
Hall. Lower Helderberg.

GASTEROPIDA.

Bellerophon bilobatus.
Sowerby. Trenton Gr.

Bellerophon var.

Bellerophon carbonarius.
Cox. Coal Measures.

Bellerophon explanatus.
Hall.

Bellerophon leda.
Hall.

Bellerophon mohri.
S. A. Miller.

Bellerophon montfortanus.
Norwood & Pratten.

Bellerophon newberryi.
Meek. Carboniferous.

Bellerophon nodocarinatus.
Hall. Lower Coal Measures.

Bellerophon patulus.
Hall. Hamilton Gr.

Bellerophon percarinatus.
Conrad. Coal Measures.

Bellerophon subcrassus.
St. Louis Gr.

Bellerophon sublaevis.
Hall. Sub. Carboniferous.

Bellerophon, special.
Coal Measures.

Bucania bidorsata.
Hall. Trenton Gr.

Bucania costata.
James.

Bucania expansa.
Hall.

- Callonema bellatum*.
 Hall. Corniferous. Devonian.
Cyclonema bilix.
 Hall.
Cyclonema bilix.
 Var. *fluctuatum*. James.
Cyclonema phaedra.
 Billings.
Cyclonema pyramidatum.
 James.
Cyclonema multilena.
Cyclora depressa.
 Ulrich.
Cyclora hoffmani.
 S. A. Miller.
Cyclora minuta.
 Hall.
Cyclostoma niagarensis.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Cyrtolites carinatus.
 S. A. Miller.
Cyrtolites dyeri.
 Hall.
Cyrtolites elegans.
 S. A. Miller.
Cyrtolites mitella.
Cyrtolites ornatus.
 Conrad.
Cyrtolites pileolus.
 Hall. Devonian.
Euomphalus cyclostomus.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Euomphalus decollatus.
 Hall. Cornif. (Disjunctus).
Euomphalus subrogosus.
 Meek & Worthen. Coal Meas.
Fusispira subfusiformis.
 Hall.
Holopea macrostoma.
 Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Holopea obliqua.
 Hall.
Loxonema delphicola.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Loxonema hamiltoniae.
 Hamilton Gr.
Loxonema nexile.
Macrochilina altonensis.
 Worthen. Coal Measures.
Macrochilina hamiltoniae.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Macrochilina hamiltoniae.
 Special. Coal Measures.
Macrochilina macrostoma.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Macrochilina medialis.
 Meek & Worthen.
Macrochilina primigenia.
 Conrad. Coal Measurers.
Macrochilina turritus.
 Whitfield. Coal Measurers.
Macrochilina ventricosa.
 Coal Measurers.
Metoptoma rugosa.
 (Stenotheca). Burlington Gr.
Metoptoma umbella.
 Meek & Worthen.
Murchisonia augustina.
 Billing.
Murchisonia bellicincta.
 Hall. Galena Gr.
Murchisonia gracilis.
 Hall.
Murchisonia milleri.
 Hall.
Murchisonia multigruma.
 S. A. Miller.
Murchisonia perangulata.
 Hall.
Murchisonia simulatrix.
 Billings.
Naticopsis altonensis.
 McChesney. Coal Measures.
Naticopsis gigantea.
 Hall & Whitfield. Chemung Gr.

- Naticopsis humilis*.
 Meek. Corniferous.
Naticopsis nana.
 Meek & Worthen. Coal Meas.
Naticopsis nana.
 Species. Coal Measures.
Platyceras argo.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Platyceras biserialis.
 Hall. Keokuk Gr.
Platyceras campanulatum.
 Winchell. Niagara Gr.
Platyceras carinatum.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Platyceras dumosum.
 Conrad. Upper Helderberg.
Platyceras equilaterale.
 Hall. Keokuk Gr.
Platyceras infundibulum.
 Meek & Worthen. Burlington Gr.
Platyceras quincyense.
 McChesney. Keokuk Gr.
Platyceras succulentum.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Platyceras thetis.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Platyceras unicum.
 Meek & Worthen. Burlington Gr.
Platystoma lineatum.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Platystoma niagarensis.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Platystoma peoriensis.
 McChesney. Coal Measures.
Pleurotomaria beckwithana.
 McChesney. Coal Measures.
Pleurotomaria bonharborensis.
 Cox. Coal Measures.
Pleurotomaria brazoensis.
 Schumard. Carboniferous Gr.
Pleurotomaria depressa.
 Cox. Coal Measures.
Pleurotomaria grayvillensis.
 Norwood & Pratten. Coal Meas.
Pleurotomaria haydenana.
 Geinitz. Coal Measures.
Pleurotomaria lenticularis.
 Trenton Gr.
Pleurotomaria lineata=*itys*.
 Hall.
Pleurotomaria ohionas.
 James.
Pleurotomaria spironema.
 Meek & Worthen. Coal Meas.
Pleurotomaria sphaerulata.
 Conrad. Coal Measures.
Pleurotomaria subconica.
 Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
Pleurotomaria subconstricta.
 S. A. Miller.
Pleurotomaria sulcomarginata.
 Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Pleurotomaria trophidophora.
 Meek.
Pleurotomaria umbilicata.
 Hall. Trenton Gr.
Pleurotomaria ventricosa.
 Oriskany Gr.
Polyphemopsis peracuta.
 Meek & Worthen. Coal Meas.
Pupa vermilionensis.
 Bradley. Coal Measures.
Raphistoma tenticulare.
 Emmons. Trenton Gr.
Straparollus subrugosus.
 M. & W. C. M. (*Euomphalus*).
Strophostylus cyclostomus.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Trochonema umbilicatum.
 Hall. Trenton Gr.
Turbo lineatus.
 (*Pleurotomaria*).
Turbo rotundus.
 Corniferous.
Turbo shumardi.
 Corniferous. (*Platystoma*).

CEPHALOPODA.

- Cyrtoceras constrictotriatum*.
Hall. Trenton Gr.
Cyrtoceras irregulare.
Wetherby.
Cyrtoceras vallandighami.
S. A. Miller.
Endoceras proteiforme.
Hall. Lower Silurian.
Endoceras, species.
Niagara Gr.
Gomphoceras cincinnatiense.
Ulrich.
Gomphoceras eos.
Hall & Whitfield.
Goniatites discoideus.
Hall.
Goniatites ixion.
Hall. Kinderhook Gr.
Goniatites lyoni.
Meek & Worthen. Kinderhook Gr.
Goniatites oweni.
Hall. Kinderhook Gr.
Goniatites rotatorius.
DeKoninck. Kinderhook Gr.
Goniatites wilsoni.
Subcarboniferous.
Gyroceras bannisteri.
Winchell & Marcy. Niagara Gr.
Nautilus buccinum.
Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Nautilus globatus.
Sowerby. Coal Measures.
Nautilus marcellensis.
Vanuxem. Hamilton Gr.
Ormoceras tenuifilum.
Hall. Black River Strata.
Phragmoceras.
Hall & Whitfield. Niagara Gr.
Orthoceras aegæa.
Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Orthoceras amplicameratum.
Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
Orthoceras bipartitum.
Hall.
Orthoceras beatrix.
Hall. Hamilton Gr. (Devonian).
Orthoceras conica.
Meek & Worthen. Coal Meas.
Orthoceras constrictus.
Conrad. Hamilton Gr. (Devon.)
Orthoceras constrictus, var.
Conrad. Hamilton Gr. (Devon.)
Orthoceras constrictus, var.
Conrad. Hamilton Gr. (Devon.)
Orthoceras crotalum.
Hall. Hamilton Gr. (Devonian).
Orthoceras duseri.
Hall. With Ceramapora beani.
Orthoceras exile.
Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Orthoceras expansum.
Meek & Worthen. St. Louis Gr.
Orthoceras fosteri.
S. A. Miller.
Orthoceras gregarium.
Hall. Hudson River Gr.
Orthoceras halli.
Orthoceras junceum.
Hall. Trenton Gr.
Orthoceras marcellense.
Vanuxem. Hamilton Gr. (Dev.)
Orthoceras mohri.
S. A. Miller.
Orthoceras multilineatum.
Emmons. Hamilton Gr. (Dev.)
Orthoceras nuntium.
Hall. Hamilton Gr. (Devonian).
Orthoceras rushensis.
Coal Measures.
Orthoceras tenere.
Hamilton Gr.

Orthoceras textile.
Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Orthoceras transversum.
S. A. Miller. Lower Silurian.

Orthoceras turbidum.
Hall.
Orthoceras vertebrate.
Hall. Trenton Gr.

LAMELLIBRANCHIATA.

Ambonychia acutirostrata.
Hall. Niagara Gr.
Ambonychia amygdalina.
(Var. *Cypicardites amygdalina*).
Ambonychia bellistriata.
Hall.
Ambonychia casii.
Meek & Worthen.
Ambonychia costata.
James.
Ambonychia orbicularis.
Trenton period.
Ambonychia radiata.
Hall.
Ambonychia robusta.
S. A. Miller. Hudson River Gr.
Allorisma cuneata.
Swallow. Coal Measures.
Allorisma curtum.
Swallow. Permian Gr.
Allorisma subcuneata.
Meek & Hayden. Coal Measures.
Allorisma var. *subcuneata*.
Allorisma var. *subcuneata*.
Allorisma winchelli.
Meek. Waverly Gr.
Amphicoelia neglecta.
Hall. Niagara Gr.
Anodontopsis milleri.
Meek. Hudson River Gr.
Anomalodonta alata.
Meek. Species. (*Ambonychia*).
Anomalodonta gigantea.
S. A. Miller.

Astartella varica.
McChesney. Lower Coal Meas.
Astartella vera.
Hall. Coal Measures.
Avicula chemungensis.
Conrad. (*Pterinea Chemung*).
Avicula elliptica.
Hall. (*Pterinea Elliptica*).
Aviculopecten carbonaris.
Coal Measures.
Aviculopecten clevelandicus.
Swallow. Coal Measures.
Aviculopecten coxanus.
Meek. Coal Measures.
Aviculopecten indianensis.
Meek & Worthen. Keokuk Gr.
Aviculopecten neglectus.
Coal Measures.
Aviculopecten occidentalis.
Shumard. Coal Measures.
Aviculopecten pellucidus.
Meek & Worthen.
Aviculopecten rectilaterarius.
Cox. Coal Measures.
Cardiomorpha missouriensis.
Shumard. Coal Measures.
Cardiomorpha missouriensis.
Var. Shumard. Coal Measures.
Clidophorus fabulus.
Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
Clidophorus planulatus.
Conrad. Cincinnati Gr.
Clinopistha laevis.
Meek & Worthen. Coal Meas.
Clinopistha radiata.
Hall.

- Conocardium subtrigonale*.
 D'Orbigny. Corniferous.
Conocardium subtrigonale.
 Var. Devonian.
Conocardium ventricosum.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Crenipecten leon, or *leonensis*.
Crenipecten retiferus.
 Shumard. Coal Measures.
Cucullæa opima.
 Hall & Whitfield. Hamilton Gr.
 S. A. Miller says synonym for *Nucula lirata*.
Cuneamya ampla.
 Ulrich. Cincinnati Gr.
Cuneamya inflata.
 Cincinnati Gr.
Cuneamya parva.
 S. A. Miller. Cincinnati.
Cypricardella bellistriata.
 Conrad Species. Hamilton Gr.
Cypricardella eodon.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr. (Proposed
 instead of *Microdon*, Conrad,
 S. A. Miller.
Cypricardia recurva.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Cypricarditis haynanas.
 Safford. Cincinnati Gr.
Cypricarditis quadrangularis.
 Whitefield.
Cypricarditis amygdalinus.
 Hall. Trenton Gr.
Entolium avicula.
 Swallow. Coal Measures.
Grammysia bisulcata.
 Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Grammysia cingulata.
 Hamilton Gr.
Grammysia circularis.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Grammysia discoidea.
 Hamilton Gr.
Grammysia nodocostata.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Grammysia obsoleta.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Grammysia secunda.
 Hall. Var. Gibbosa. Ham. Gr.
Lyrodesma cincinnatiense.
 Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
Lyrodesma major.
 Ulrich. (*Tellinomya pectunculoides*. Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
Lyrodesma poststriatum.
 Emmons.
Macrodon bellistratus.
 Var. *Cypricardella*.
Macrodon obsoletus.
 Meek. Coal Measures.
Megalomus canadensis.
 Hall. Upper Silurian.
Megambonia jamesi.
 Meek. Cincinnati Gr.
Modiolopsis cincinnatiensis.
 Hall & Whitfield. Cincinnati Gr.
Modiolopsis concentrica.
 Hall & Whitfield. Cincinnati Gr.
Modiolopsis faba.
 Conrad. Cincinnati Gr.
Modiolopsis modiolaris.
 Conrad. Cincinnati Gr.
Modiolopsis perlata.
 Hall. Niagara Gr.
Modiolopsis spatulata.
 James. Cincinnati Gr.
Modiolopsis truncata.
 Hall.
Modiomorpha alta.
 Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Modiomorpha alta.
 Var. Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Modiomorpha concentrica.
 Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Modiomorpha concentrica.
 Var. Conrad. Hamilton Gr.

- Myalina keokuk.*
 Worthen. Keokuk Gr.
Myalina monroensis.
 Worthen. Upper Coal Measures.
Myalina swallowi.
 McCheney. Upper Coal Meas.
Myalina swallowi.
 Species. Upper Coal Measures.
Myalina subquadrata.
 Upper Coal Measures.
Nucula bellatula.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Nucula bellastrata.
 Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Nucula lineata.
 Hamilton Gr.
Nucula notica.
 Hall. Upper Helderberg.
Nucula notica.
 Var. Hall. Upper Helderberg.
Nucula oblonga.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Nucula oblonga.
 Var. Hamilton Gr.
Nucula randalli.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr. Devonian.
Nucula truncata.
 Hamilton Gr.
Nucula ventricosa.
 Hall. Coal Measures.
Nucula ventricosa.
 Species. Hamilton Gr.
Nuculites elongata.
 Hamilton Gr.
Nuculites triqueter.
 Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Nuculites sulcatinus.
 Conrad. Keokuk Gr.
Nyassa arguta.
 Hall. Hamilton Gr.
Nyassa hamiltoniae.
Orthodesma contractum.
 Hall. Cincinnati Gr.
- Orthodesma curvatum.*
 Hall & Whitfield. Cincinnati Gr.
Orthodesma mickleburghi.
 Whitfield. Cincinnati Gr.
Orthodesma parallelum.
 Hall.
Orthodesma rectum.
 Hall & Whitfield. Cincinnati Gr.
Orthodesma subovale.
 Ulrich. Cincinnati Gr.
Paracyclas elliptica.
 Hall. Corniferous. (Devonian.)
Paracyclas elliptica.
 Var. Hall. Cornif. (Devonian.)
Paracyclas lirata.
 Conrad. (Devonian.)
Paracyclas lirata.
 Var. Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Paracyclas proavia.
 Goldfuss. Lower Devonian.
Paracyclas serata.
 Devonian.
Pinna peracuta.
 Shumard. Coal Measures.
Pleurophorus subcostatus.
 Meek & Worthen. Coal Meas.
Pleurophorus tripodolphorus.
 Meek. Lower Coal Measures.
Prothyris elegans.
 Meek. Upper Coal Measures.
Pseudomonotis hawni.
 (Eumicrotis). Meek & Hayden.
Pterinea bellilineata.
 Billings.
Pterinea chemungensis.
Pterinea demissa.
 Conrad.
Pterinea elliptica.
 Hall. Trenton Gr.
Pterinea flabella.
 Conrad. Hamilton Gr.
Pterinea flabella.
 Var. Conrad. Hamilton Gr.

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|---|--|
| <i>Pterinea insueta.</i>
Conrad. | <i>Solenomya radiata.</i>
Meek & Worthen. |
| <i>Pterinea mucronata.</i>
Ulrich. | <i>Solenomya rhomboidea.</i>
Coal Measures. |
| <i>Sanguinolites obliquus.</i>
Meek. Waverly Shales. | <i>Tellinomya alata.</i>
Hall. |
| <i>Sanguinolites sanduskyensis.</i>
Meek. Corniferous. | <i>Tellinomya clecata.</i>
Hall. |
| <i>Schizodus curta.</i>
Meek & Worthen. Coal Meas. | <i>Tellinomya hilli.</i>
S. A. Miller. |
| <i>Schizodus wheeleri.</i>
Swallow. Coal Measures. | <i>Tellinomya lineata.</i>
Phillips. Hamilton Gr. |
| <i>Sedgwickia linalata.</i>
Whitfield. | <i>Tellinomya obliqua.</i>
Hall. |
| <i>Sedgwickia neglecta.</i>
Meek. | <i>Tellinomya pretenculoides.</i>
Hall. |
| <i>Solenomya radiata.</i>
Var. Meek & Worthen. | <i>Tellinomya subovata.</i>
Ulrich. |

ANNELEIDA.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>Serpulites dissolutus.</i>
Billings. Trenton Gr. | <i>Serpulites jamesi.</i>
Nicholson. |
|--|---|

CRUSTACEA.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>Acidaspis anchoralis.</i>
S. A. Miller. Cincinnati Gr. | <i>Beyrichia ciliata.</i>
Emmons. |
| <i>Acidaspis crossotus.</i>
Locke. Cincinnati Gr. | <i>Beyrichia cincinnatiensis.</i>
S. A. Miller. |
| <i>Acidaspis species.</i>
Cincinnati Gr. | <i>Beyrichia lata.</i>
Vanuxem. |
| <i>Acidaspis trentonensis.</i>
Hall. | <i>Beyrichia oculifera.</i>
Hall. |
| <i>Asaphus gigas.</i>
DeKay. Trenton Gr. | <i>Beyrichia regularis.</i>
Emmons. |
| <i>Asaphus megistus.</i>
Locke. | <i>Calymene callicephala.</i>
Green. Trenton Gr. |
| <i>Bathyrurus extans.</i>
Hall. Trenton Period. | <i>Calymene niagarensis.</i>
Hall. Niagara Gr. |
| <i>Beyrichia chambersi.</i>
S. A. Miller. | <i>Ceraurus icarus.</i>
Billings. |

- *Ceraurus pleurexanthemus*.
- Cyphaspis christyi*.
Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Cytheropsis cincinnatiensis*.
Meek.
- Cytheropsis cylindrica*.
Hall.
- Cytheropsis irregularis*.
S. A. Miller.
- Dalmanites achates*.
Billings.
- Dalmanites boothi*.
Green. Hamilton Gr.
- Dalmanites breviceps*.
Hall.
- Dalmanites carleyi*.
Meek.
- Dalmanites selenurus*.
Eaton. Upper Helderberg.
- Dalmanites verucosus*.
Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Dalmanites, species*.
- Homolonotus dekayi*.
Green. Hamilton Gr.
- Illaenus armatus*.
Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Leaia tricarinata*.
Meek & Worthen. Coal Measures.
- Leperditia alta*.
Conrad. Lower Helderberg.
- Leperditia glabra*.
Ulrich.
- Lepidocoleus jamesi*.
Hall & Whitfield. Hudson River.
- Lichas trentoniensis*.
Conrad.
- Phacops bufo*.
Green. Hamilton Gr.
- Phacops rana*.
Green. Hamilton Gr.
- Phillipsia bufo*.
Meek & Worthen. Keokuk Gr.
- Phillipsia, species*.
Upper Carboniferous.
- Primitia byrnesi*.
- Primitia crepiformis*.
- Primitia cincinnatiensis*.
S. A. Miller.
- Sphaerexochus romengeri*.
Hall. Niagara Gr.
- Triarthrus becki*.
Green. Utica Slate.
- Trinucleus bellulus*.
Ulrich.
- Trinucleus concentricus*.
Eaton.

LIST OF TAXABLE INHABITANTS
IN THE
TOWN AND COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND,
(WYOMING, PENN'A.)
STATE OF CONNECTICUT,
1776-1780.

Tax lists have always been justly regarded as among the most important data to the historian in writing the records of a people or a section of country. And yet we search the histories of the Wyoming section of Pennsylvania in vain for such lists prior to 1796. The lists of this date were published for the first time by Stewart Pearce in his "Annals of Luzerne county." His Appendix shows that in 1763 one hundred and seventeen New England settlers located in the Wyoming Valley. Fifty of these, who were slain by the Indians in the massacre that year, are all of the number whose names are known. At that time no government had been established at Wyoming, and the settlers had not felt the burden of taxation. From 1769 to 1772 over two hundred others, also from New England, settled at Wyoming. Their names are recorded by Pearce. These were also free from taxation. But in 1774, when the town of Westmoreland was established as a part of Litchfield county, Connecticut, the necessity of taxation was realized, and at a town meeting held at Wilkes-Barré, March 2, 1774, for the election of officers for the government of the town, the following were elected Listers, for the purpose of assessing property and levying taxes: "Anderson Dana, Daniel Gore, Elisha Swift, Eliphalet Follet, Perrin Ross, Nathan Wade, Jeremiah Blanchard, Zavan Tracy, Uriah Chapman, Gideon Baldwin, Silas Gore, Moses Thomas, Emanuel Consawler, John Jenkins, Phineas Clark." How long these remained in office is not known, but the following certificate, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Oscar J. Harvey, Esq., shows the Listers for 1776:

At the October, 1776, session of the General Assembly of Connecticut a certificate was received from the Listers of Westmoreland

(Wyoming) setting forth that "the Grand List for the town of Westmoreland, made on the August Lists for the year 1776, is £6996, 13s."

This list was "certified by Anderson Dana, Elisha Swift, John Jenkins, Jr., Nathan Kingsley, William Williams, William Stark, William Hibbard, Aaron Gaylord, John Perkins, Listers."

Evidently no tax lists prior to 1796 were known to Chapman, and none to Miner except that of 1781, a copy of which was sent to the United States Congress by Mr. Miner in 1837 accompanying the eloquent and forcible "Petition of the Sufferers at Wyoming during the Revolutionary War for relief." This list was published by the Government in House Report 1032, 25th Congress, 2d Session, Public Document No. 336. It was reprinted by the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society in 1895 in my paper entitled "The Massacre of Wyoming, the Acts of Congress for the Defense of the Wyoming Valley, Penn'a, 1776-1778, with the Petitions of the Sufferers by the Massacre of July 3, 1778, for Congressional aid." On pages 78-83 of this publication it will be found, entitled "A true list of the polls and estates of the town of Westmoreland, ratable by law the 20th of August, 1781." The assessment was made by "John Franklin, Christopher Hurlbut and Jonah Rogers, Listers." It reports the number of polls at Wyoming that year over 16 years old at 140; live stock 655; acres plowed 999½; other land 286½; total land owned 1276 acres, silver watches 2, owned by Captain John Franklin and Sarah Durkee, each valued at £1, 10.

Some years ago the late Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., discovered the original Tax Lists of the Town and County of Westmoreland for 1776, 1777 and 1778, which he added to his private collection of local manuscripts. Shortly before his death he had these lists copied for the use of this society. They are printed here for the first time, and from copies made by myself "*verbatim et literatim*." We are indebted to his family for this privilege. Through the generous act of Oscar J. Harvey, Esq., I am permitted to give also a Tax List of the Town and County of Westmoreland for 1780 from a copy in his possession. As the demoralized condition of this section in 1779 made the levying of taxes extremely difficult, nothing was done by the Connecticut authorities to accomplish it. This appears from several petitions made to the Connecticut Assembly for release from taxation that

year, one of which I give from the original in Mr. Harvey's hands :

At a town-meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland held at Wilkes-Barré Sept. 19, 1780—John Hurlbutt, Esq., being moderator and Obadiah Gore "town clerk"—it was "*Resolved*, That John Hurlbutt and Col. Nathan Denison be appointed agents to negotiate a petition at the next General Assembly, praying for an abatement of taxes upon the present List."

At the October, 1780, session of the General Assembly of Connecticut there was presented a "Memorial, dated Westmoreland, Sept. 28, 1780," and signed by John Hurlbutt, John Franklin, Jabez Sill and James Nisbitt, "Select Men, in behalf of themselves and inhabitants." This memorial set forth, among other things, the following: "The settlement being contracted to a very narrow compass just under cover of the garrison—our fields very much in common—our families either in barracks with the soldiery, or soldiers quartering in our houses for our protection and safety. * * * These and many other difficulties (which are tedious to mention) induce us once more to petition for an abatement of taxes upon the present List, or in some other way to grant us relief."

At a session of the General Assembly held in February, 1781, it was "*Resolved*, That all the State taxes arising on the List of the year 1780 in the town of Westmoreland aforesaid be and the same are hereby abated."

These will be more fully given in Mr. Harvey's forthcoming "History of Wilkes-Barre." The lists of 1776-1780 cover nine localities, and the summary of the separate lists shows the following numbers of Connecticut taxables here in those years. They do not contain all the male inhabitants or property holders under the Connecticut title, as some, like the Rev. Jacob Johnson, were relieved from taxes for reasons which do not appear.

CONNECTICUT TAXABLES, TOWN AND COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND.

	1776.	1777.	1778.	1780.
Wilkes-Barre,	96	96	96	
Kingston,	84	89	89	
Plymouth,	71	109	110	
Hanover,	50	79	79	
Pittston,	51	72	70	
Exeter,	36	27	27	
Up the River,	57	32	32	
Lackawanna,	26	59	26	
Westmoreland,	8			
Town of Westmoreland,				91.
	<hr/> 479	<hr/> 563	<hr/> 529.	

Meanwhile Pennsylvania was not idle in levying taxes upon her own people in this section. Without recognizing in any way the Connecticut titles and landholders, she levied taxes on all holders of land under the Pennsylvania titles. In the Pennsylvania Archives, 3d Series, Volume XIX, printed, but not yet published, under the supervision of William H. Egle, M. D., late State Librarian, will be found the Lists of State Taxes, Assessment, and Supply Tax for Wyoming township, Northumberland county, for each year from 1778 to 1789, inclusive. These give full names of resident and non-resident landholders, and are well worth careful study. None of the names on the Connecticut lists are found on these, so that an accurate estimate of the population of the Wyoming section could be readily made from the two sets of tax lists.

PENNSYLVANIA TAXABLES, WYOMING TOWNSHIP, NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY.

State Tax, 1778, 1779, 1780.	Residents, 56; acres, —; value, £15,000; taxes, —.
Assessments, 1781.	Residents, 45; acres, 12,896; taxes, £450.
“ “	Non-residents, 31; acres, 26,058, uncultivated; taxes, £860.
Supply Tax, 1782.	Residents, 31; acres, 6,866; taxes, £218.
“ “ “	Non-residents, 42; acres, 30,420, uncultivated; taxes, £741.
Supply Tax, 1783.	Residents, 54; acres, 9,741; horses, 61; cattle, 77; taxes, £85.
Supply Tax, 1784.	Residents, 54; acres, 9,741; horses, 61; cattle, 77; taxes, £95.
State Tax, 1785.	Residents, 75; acres, 12,807; horses, 111; cattle, 105; taxes, £26.
“ “ “	Non-residents, 70, acres, 62,150, uncultivated; taxes, £114.
State Tax, 1786.	Residents, 83; acres, 14,574; horses, 121; cattle, 117; taxes, £45.
“ “ “	Non-residents, 65; acres, 65,155, uncultivated; taxes, £112.
State Tax, 1787.	Residents, 64; acres, 10,345; horses, 104; cattle, 102; taxes, £22.
“ “ “	Non-residents, 70; acres, 59,195, uncultivated; taxes, £67.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

TAXABLES FOR THE
TOWN AND COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND,
1776-'80.

RATE BILL FOR WILKSBARRE DISTRICT.

MADE ON THE AUGUST LIST, 1776.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Richardson Avery,	56	0	0	1	13	0
Richardson Avery, Jr.,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Christ ⁿ Avery,	44	10	0	1	6	1
William Avery,	29	0	0	0	16	11
John Abbot,	32	0	0	0	18	8
Elias Bixby,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Thos ^s Brown,	49	0	0	1	8	7
Jesse Bissel,	33	11	0	0	19	8
James Bedlock,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Asa Burnham,	29	0	0	0	16	11
Zebulon Butler,	90	6	0	2	12	8
Elisha Blackman,	60	4	0	1	15	2
Stodard Bowers,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Benj ⁿ Bayley,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Isaac Bennet,	61	0	0	1	15	7
Aaron Bower,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Asa Bennet,	42	0	0	1	4	6
Moses Brown,	30	7	0	0	17	8
Joseph Cooper,	27	0	0	0	15	9
Benj ⁿ Clark,	23	0	0	0	3	15
Samuel Cole,	33	0	0	0	19	3
Elean ^a Cary,	56	10	0	1	13	0
Willm ^m Dorton,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Wm ^m Dunn, Jr ^r ,	43	0	0	1	15	1
Robt ^t Durkee,	49	0	0	1	8	7
Anderson Dana,	46	8	0	1	7	1
Wm ^m Davidson,	29	0	0	0	16	11
Thomas Durkee,	27	16	0	0	16	4
Daniel Downing,	10	12	0	1	3	8
Wm ^m Dunn,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Douglas Davidson,	27	0	0	0	15	9
John Foster,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Stephen Fuller,	86	0	0	2	10	2
Jonath ⁿ Fitch,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Henry Elliot,	43	0	0	1	5	1
Cornelius Gale,	19	0	0	0	11	1
Peregreen Garduer,	18	0	0	0	10	6

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Daniel Gore, . . . . .	.48	0	0	1	8	0
Rezin Geer, . . . . .	.27	0	0	0	15	9
Obediah Gore, . . . . .	.39	16	0	1	3	4
James Green, . . . . .	.25	0	0	0	14	7
James Gould, . . . . .	.26	0	0	0	15	2
Elias Green, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	1	0
John Garret, . . . . .	.107	4	0	3	2	8
John Hageman, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Simeon Hide, . . . . .	.33	2	0	0	19	4
Joseph Hageman, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
John Hide, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Samuel Hutchins, . . . . .	.50	0	0	1	9	2
Matthew and John Hollenback, . . . . .	.50	0	0	1	9	2
Thomas McClure, . . . . .	.18	0	0	1	10	6
Houlet Hazen, . . . . .	.53	0	0	1	10	11
Robt Hopkins, . . . . .	.26	0	0	0	15	2
Azel Hide, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Gama ^l Irasdel, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Wm Judd, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	0	5
Eben ^r Lane, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Solomon Johnson, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Thos ^s Neal, . . . . .	.22	0	0	0	12	10
Martin Nelson, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Wm Nelson, . . . . .	.26	0	0	0	15	2
Aaron Pixby, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	10
Thos ^s Pickard, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Ebenz ^r Parks, . . . . .	.41	0	0	1	3	7
Wm Parker, . . . . .	.72	0	0	1	2	0
Junia Preson, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Eben ^r Phillips, . . . . .	.22	0	0	0	12	10
Thos ^s Porter, . . . . .	.76	0	0	2	4	4
Jeremiah Ross, . . . . .	.77	0	0	2	4	11
Jacob Shufelt, . . . . .	.29	0	0	0	16	11
Josiah Stansbury, . . . . .	.130	0	0	3	15	10
John Staples, . . . . .	.55	10	0	1	12	5
John Staples, . . . . .	.29	0	0	0	16	11
Josiah Smith, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Joseph Staples, . . . . .	.42	0	0	1	4	6
Isaac Smith, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Adonijah Stansbury, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
James Stark, . . . . .	.100	10	0	2	18	8
Isaac Smith, Jun ^r, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Wm Stark, . . . . .	.45	12	0	1	6	7
Asa Stevens, . . . . .	.42	0	0	1	4	6
Darius Snafford, . . . . .	.39	0	0	1	2	9
Jabel Sell, . . . . .	.95	10	0	2	15	9
Elihu Waters, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Ephraim Wheeler, . . . . .	.23	0	0	0	13	5
John Williams, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Jonathan Weeks, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	1	0
Thos ^s Williams, . . . . .	.32	6	0	0	18	11
John Wheeler, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Peter Wheeler, . . . . .	.34	0	0	0	19	10
Edward Walker, . . . . .	.37	0	0	1	1	7

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Jonathan Weeks, Jr.,	35	0	0	1	0	5
Willm Warner,	35	8	0	1	0	8
Philip Weeks,	37	4	0	1	1	9
Abel Yorrenton,	24	0	0	1	14	0

KINGSTON DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
James Atherton,	105	0	0	3	1	3
Asahel Buck,	33	0	0	0	19	3
James Atherton, Jr.,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Richd Brockway,	26	0	0	0	15	2
Wm Buck,	27	0	0	0	15	9
Aholiab Buck,	31	0	0	1	1	7
Asa Brown,	40	0	0	1	3	4
Benjn Budd,	56	0	0	1	12	8
Thos Bennet,	80	0	0	2	6	8
Jeremiah Baker,	25	0	0	0	14	7
John Bass,	22	0	0	0	12	17
Henry Bush,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Kingsly Cumstock,	29	0	0	0	16	11
Samuel Cummins,	48	0	0	1	8	0
Elias Church,	78	0	0	2	5	6
Gideon Church,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Amasa Cleeland,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Nathan Denson,	36	0	0	1	1	0
Amos Draper,	44	0	0	1	5	8
Geo. Drorrance,	75	12	0	2	4	1
Jon Drorrance,	41	15	0	1	4	5
Thos Foxen,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Stephen Fuller, Jr.,	37	0	0	1	1	7
Wm Gallop,	40	0	0	1	3	4
Lemuel Gunston,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Asa Gore,	38	11	0	1	2	6
Obadiah Gore,	68	18	0	2	0	3
Silas Gore,	25	0	0	0	14	7
Saml Gordon,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Peter Harris,	29	0	0	0	16	11
Dothick Huit,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Levi Hicks,	42	0	0	1	4	6
Jno Hammond,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Dudly Hammond,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Elijah Harris,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Eglon Hatch,	28	0	0	0	16	4
Amariah Hammond,	26	0	0	0	15	2
Ezekl Hamilton,	26	0	0	0	15	2
Esther Eollet,	9	0	0	0	5	3
Benj. Follet,	7	0	0	0	4	1
Elipht Follet,	25	0	0	0	14	7
John Fish,	31	0	0	0	18	1
Asel Jeroms,	32	0	0	0	18	8
Willm Kellog,	81	0	0	2	7	3
Robt McIntire,	18	0	0	0	10	6

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Winches ^r Mathewson, . . . . .	.87	0	0	2	10	9
Jesse Lee, . . . . .	.37	0	0	1	1	7
James Legget, . . . . .	.54	0	0	1	11	6
Nath ^l Landon, . . . . .	.64	4	0	1	17	6
Peter Low, . . . . .	.108	0	0	3	3	0
Seth Marvin, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
John Murpy, . . . . .	.22	0	0	0	12	10
Phineas Parce, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Noah Pettebon, . . . . .	.55	0	0	1	12	1
Timo Pierce, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	0	5
Ezekiel Pierce, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Jno. Perkins, . . . . .	.76	0	0	2	4	4
Isaac Philips, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Jno. Pearce, . . . . .	.20	0	0	0	11	8
Ashbel Robinson, . . . . .	.27	0	0	0	15	9
Elias Roberd, Jun ^r, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Elias Roberd, . . . . .	.66	0	0	1	18	6
Tim ^o Rose, . . . . .	.32	0	0	0	18	8
Elijah Shoemaker, . . . . .	.55	0	0	1	12	1
Benj ⁿ Skiff, . . . . .	.47	0	0	1	7	5
Jno. Smith, . . . . .	.46	0	0	1	6	10
W ^m H. Smith, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Tim ^o Smith, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	14	0
Lockwood Smith, . . . . .	.26	0	0	0	15	2
Benedick Satterly, . . . . .	.51	8	0	1	10	1
W ^m Searls, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Luke Sweatland, . . . . .	.51	0	0	1	9	9
Constant Searls, . . . . .	.44	0	0	1	5	8
Jede ^h Stevens, . . . . .	.51	0	0	1	9	9
Thos Stodard, . . . . .	.33	0	0	0	19	3
Rosel Stevens, . . . . .	.22	0	0	0	12	10
Eben ^r Skinner, . . . . .	.25	0	0	0	14	7
Joshua Steveus, . . . . .	.25	0	0	0	14	7
Elisha Swift, . . . . .	.55	0	0	1	12	1
Parshal Terry, . . . . .	.84	0	0	2	9	0
Lebbeus Tubbs, . . . . .	.70	0	0	2	0	10
John Tubbs, . . . . .	.25	0	0	0	14	7
Parshal Terry, Jun ^r, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Isaiah Walker, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Parker Willson, . . . . .	.29	0	0	0	16	11
Israel Walker, . . . . .	.37	0	0	1	1	7
Azias Yale, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	1	0

PLYMOUTH DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Amos Amesbury, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Asahel Atherton, . . . . .	.50	0	0	1	9	2
Caleb Austin, . . . . .	.8	0	0	0	4	8
Samuel Ayres, . . . . .	.30	0	0	1	17	6
James Bedlock, . . . . .	.31	0	0	0	18	1
Joshua Bennet, . . . . .	.30	0	0	0	17	6
Henry Burny, . . . . .	.45	0	0	1	6	3

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Jesse Coleman,	20	0	0	0	11	8
Wm Churchill,	41	0	0	1	3	11
Jeremiah Coleman,	71	0	0	2	1	5
Jnan Churchill	21	0	0	0	12	3
Thos Cascadden,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Gilbert Denton,	34	0	0	0	19	10
Benjn Cole,	70	6	0	2	1	0
Daniel Denton,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Danl Colton,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Frederick Eveland,	39	0	0	1	2	9
Daniel Finch, Sen.,	18	0	0	0	10	6
James Frisby,	27	0	0	0	15	9
John Franklin,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Jonathan Forsitt,	25	0	0	0	14	7
Philip Goss,	39	0	0	1	2	9
Bazabel Gurny,	50	0	0	1	9	2
Solomon Goss,	22	0	0	0	12	10
Nathl Goss,	62	0	0	1	16	2
Joseph Gaylord,	25	0	0	0	14	7
Charles Gaylord,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Justus Gaylord,	88	8	0	2	11	8
Aaron Gaylord,	22	0	0	0	12	10
Philip Goss, Junr	32	0	0	0	18	8
Zachy Hartziff,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Benjn Harvey,	123	0	0	3	11	9
Tim ^o Hopkins,	25	0	0	0	14	7
Silas Harvey,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Thos Heath,	40	0	0	1	3	4
Jonathan Hunlock,	39	0	0	1	2	9
Wm Hurlbut,	22	0	0	0	12	10
John Heath,	61	0	0	1	15	7
Crocker Jones,	22	0	0	0	12	10
Benjn Kilbon,	11	0	0	0	6	5
Rufus Lawrence,	54	0	0	1	11	6
Ephraim McCoy,	22	0	0	0	12	10
Nicholas Manvil,	41	16	0	1	4	5
David Marvin,	60	0	0	1	15	0
Matthew Marvin,	01	0	0	0	0	7
James Nesbet,	26	0	0	0	15	2
Jonath ⁿ Prichard,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Noah Pettebone,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Samnel Ransom,	63	0	0	1	16	9
Josiah Rogers,	62	0	0	1	16	2
Perin Ross,	56	4	0	1	12	10
Daniel Robards,	16	0	0	0	9	4
Hezekiah Robards,	22	0	0	0	12	10
James Robards,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Ebenr Robards,	22	0	0	0	12	10
Elisha Richards,	38	0	0	1	2	2
Wm Reynolds,	35	0	0	1	0	5
Thos Sawyer,	45	0	0	1	6	3
Simon Spalding,	29	0	0	0	16	11
Oliver Smith,	50	0	0	1	9	2
Wm Steward,	26	0	0	0	15	2

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Obadiah Scott,	33	0	0	0	19	3
Daniel Sharwood,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Robt Spencer,	18	0	0	0	10	6
John Tilbury,	38	0	0	1	2	2
Matthias Vanhorn,	43	0	0	1	5	1
Asaph Whittlesey,	30	0	0	0	17	6
John Van Wy,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Samuel Williams,	37	0	0	1	1	7
Wm White,	33	16	9	0	19	9
Rufus Williams,	49	4	0	1	8	9
Elihu Williams,	46	0	0	1	6	10
Nathan Wade,	18	0	0	0	10	6

HANOVER DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Prince Alden,	36	0	0	1	1	0
Major Alden,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Eber Andrews,	22	0	0	0	12	10
Jeremiah Bigford,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Isaac Bennet, Jr.,	66	0	0	1	18	6
Peleg Barret,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Isaac Campbell,	34	0	0	0	19	10
John Commer,	68	0	0	1	19	8
James Cook,	36	0	0	1	1	0
Peleg Cook,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Nathl Davenport,	46	0	0	1	16	10
Samuel Downer,	3	0	0	0	1	19
Saml Ensign,	38	0	0	1	2	2
John Ewing,	28	0	0	0	16	4
James Forsith,	24	0	0	0	14	0
John Franklin,	32	0	0	0	18	8
Andrew Freeman,	44	0	0	1	5	8
Rozel Franklin,	23	0	0	0	13	5
Isaac Fritchett,	65	0	0	1	17	11
Daniel Franklin,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Wait Garrat,	29	0	0	0	16	11
Titus Henman,	22	0	0	0	12	10
Nicholas Huffman,	63	0	0	1	16	9
Ebenezer Hibbard,	23	0	0	0	13	5
Wm Hibbard,	38	0	0	1	2	2
Cyprian Hibbard,	36	0	0	1	1	0
Richard Inman,	40	0	0	1	3	4
Elijah Inman,	52	10	0	1	10	8
David Inman,	34	10	0	1	0	2
Wm Jamison,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Robt Jamison,	18	0	0	0	10	6
John Jamison,	26	0	0	0	15	2
John Jackson,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Wm M. Karrachan,	21	0	0	0	12	3
James Lasly,	37	0	0	1	1	7
George Lukes,	62	0	0	1	16	2
Edward Lester,	37	0	0	1	1	7
John Morris,	52	0	0	1	10	4

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Benjn Potts,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Lt Lazs Stuart,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Wm Smith,	72	0	0	2	2	0
Levi Spencer,	18	0	0	0	10	6
James Spencer,	29	0	0	0	16	11
Solomon Squire,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Edward Spencer,	92	0	0	2	13	8
Caleb Spencer,	46	0	0	1	6	10
Benjn Shaw,	46	0	0	1	6	10
John Sharar,	33	0	0	0	19	3
Capt Lazs Stuart,	102	0	0	2	19	6
Robt Young,	21	0	0	0	12	3

PITTS TOWN.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Noah Adams,	30	0	0	0	17	6
Daniel Allen,	47	0	0	1	7	5
Isaac Adams,	47	0	0	1	7	5
James Brown, Jr.,	18	0	0	1	10	6
James Brown,	40	0	0	1	3	4
Jeremiah Blanchard,	40	0	0	1	3	4
James Bagly,	40	0	0	1	3	4
Isaac Baldwin,	72	0	0	2	2	0
Ishmael Bennet,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Caleb Bates,	34	0	0	0	19	10
David Brown,	19	0	0	0	11	1
Rufus Baldwin,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Samuel Billings,	59	0	0	1	14	5
Thos Cooper,	23	0	0	0	13	5
Daniel Cass,	35	0	0	1	0	5
Eber Crandal,	21	0	0	0	12	3
John Carr,	22	0	0	0	12	10
Barnabas Cary,	27	0	0	0	15	9
Timothy How,	22	0	0	0	12	10
Abraham Harding,	55	0	0	1	12	1
Thos Harding,	33	0	0	0	19	3
Benjn Hempsted,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Richard Halsted,	81	0	0	2	7	3
Stephen Harding,	25	0	0	0	14	7
Isaiah Halsted,	25	0	0	0	14	7
Jeremiah Hogeboon,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Eton Jones,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Joseph Leonard,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Obediah Murson,	78	0	0	2	5	6
James Moore,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Ebenr Marcy,	31	0	0	0	18	1
Samuel Millord,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Timothy Pierce,	22	0	0	0	12	7
Jonathan Parker,	40	0	0	1	3	4
John Ryon,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Michael Rood,	30	0	0	0	17	6
David Sanford,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Solomon Strong,	33	10	0	0	19	7

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Aaron Stark, . . . . .	.27	0	0	0	15	9
Elijah Silsbry, . . . . .	.25	0	0	0	14	7
Sammel Slater, Jr., . . . . .	.40	0	0	1	3	4
Sam ^l Slater, . . . . .	.46	0	0	1	6	10
John Stafford, . . . . .	.27	0	0	0	15	9
Ephraim Sanford, . . . . .	.34	0	0	0	19	10
Wm Shay, . . . . .	.27	10	0	0	16	1
David Smith, . . . . .	.50	0	0	1	9	2
Zach ^h Squire, . . . . .	.26	0	0	0	15	2
Elear ^r West, . . . . .	.30	0	0	0	17	6
Will ^m Williams, . . . . .	.51	0	0	1	1	9
Just ^s Wording, . . . . .	.29	0	0	0	16	11
John Wording, . . . . .	.22	0	0	0	12	10
Nath ⁿ Williams, . . . . .	.22	0	0	0	12	10

EXETER DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Nathan Albeen, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Joseph Baker, . . . . .	.39	0	0	1	2	9
Sam ^l Brown, . . . . .	.39	0	0	1	2	9
Silas Benedict, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	1	0
Dani ^l Cambel, . . . . .	.50	0	0	1	9	2
Manassa Cady, . . . . .	.20	0	0	0	11	8
Stephen Gardner, . . . . .	.28	0	0	0	16	4
John Gardner, . . . . .	.26	0	0	0	15	2
Peter Harris, . . . . .	.34	0	0	0	19	10
Stephen Harding, . . . . .	.71	0	0	2	1	5
Stephen Harding, Jr., . . . . .	.25	0	0	0	14	7
Lemuel Harding, . . . . .	.52	0	0	1	10	4
James Headwell, . . . . .	.64	0	0	1	17	4
Benj ⁿ Jones, . . . . .	.69	0	0	2	0	3
Nathan Jones, . . . . .	.30	0	0	0	17	6
Thos ^s Joslin, . . . . .	.19	0	0	0	11	1
Dani ^l Ingersol, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Nath ^l Johnson, . . . . .	.23	0	0	0	13	5
Jno ^s Jenkins, . . . . .	.108	10	0	3	3	4
Timothy Keyes, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	0	5
Will ^m Martin, . . . . .	.55	0	0	1	12	1
Wm Pickard, . . . . .	.19	0	0	0	11	1
Thos ^s Picket, . . . . .	.44	0	0	1	5	8
Joseph Slocum, . . . . .	.7	0	0	0	4	1
Jacob Syne, . . . . .	.26	0	0	0	15	2
Jno. D. Shoemaker, . . . . .	.23	0	0	0	13	5
Elisha Scovel, . . . . .	.41	0	0	1	3	11
Eben ^r Searls, . . . . .	.28	0	0	0	16	4
Levi Townsend, . . . . .	.49	0	0	1	8	7
Isaac Trip, Esq., . . . . .	.68	0	0	1	19	8
Job Trip, . . . . .	.26	0	0	0	15	2
Job Trip, Jr., . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Preserved Taylor, . . . . .	.55	0	0	1	12	1
Philip Wintermute, . . . . .	.62	0	0	1	16	2
Jno ^s Wintermute, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Philip Wintermute, Jr., . . . . .	.30	0	0	0	17	6
Richard West, . . . . .	.23	0	0	0	13	5

UP THE RIVER.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Frederick Arger, . . . . .	.56	0	0	1	12	8
Philip Bender, . . . . .	.37	0	0	1	1	7
Prince Bryant, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Jacob Bowman, . . . . .	.60	0	0	1	15	0
Adam Bowman, . . . . .	.68	0	0	1	19	8
Elijah Brown, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Philip Buck, . . . . .	.28	0	0	0	16	4
David Bigsby, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Jacob Brunner, . . . . .	.26	0	0	0	15	2
Joshua Beebe, . . . . .	.22	0	0	0	12	10
— Cole, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Nicholas Depue, . . . . .	.31	0	0	0	18	1
Josiah Dewey, . . . . .	.22	0	0	0	12	10
John Depue, . . . . .	.71	0	0	2	1	5
Jno Dewit, . . . . .	.48	0	0	1	8	0
Stephen Ferrington, . . . . .	.34	0	0	0	19	10
Frederick Frank, . . . . .	.46	0	0	1	6	10
— Fox, . . . . .	.51	0	0	1	9	9
Lemuel Fitch, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Edward Hicks, . . . . .	.46	0	0	1	6	10
Gosper Hopper, . . . . .	.55	0	0	1	10	4
Reuben Herrington, . . . . .	.28	0	0	0	16	4
Andrew Hickman, . . . . .	.40	0	0	1	3	4
Geo. Kentner, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	2	2
Nathan Kingsley, . . . . .	.33	0	0	0	19	3
John Laraby, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	2	2
Isaac Laraway, . . . . .	.46	0	0	1	6	10
Read Malory, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	1	0
Zeb ⁿ Marcy, . . . . .	.26	0	0	0	15	2
Thos Millord, . . . . .	.40	0	0	1	3	4
Thos Millord, Jr., . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	10	6
Ben & Will Pauling, . . . . .	.93	0	0	2	14	3
Nicholas Philips, . . . . .	.54	0	0	1	11	6
Abel Palmer, . . . . .	.30	0	0	0	17	6
Ichabod Phelps, . . . . .	.21	0	0	0	12	3
Elijah Phelps, . . . . .	.54	0	0	1	11	6
John Stephens, . . . . .	.46	0	0	1	6	10
Frederick Smith, . . . . .	.25	0	0	0	14	7
Huldrick Shout, . . . . .	.30	0	0	0	17	6
Henry Simmons, . . . . .	.54	0	0	1	10	4
Bostion Strobe, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	1	0
Coonrad Searls, . . . . .	.43	0	0	1	5	1
John Secord, . . . . .	.92	0	0	2	13	8
James Scovel, . . . . .	.114	0	0	3	6	6
Jacob Sage, . . . . .	.22	0	0	0	12	10
Peter Secord, . . . . .	.62	0	0	1	16	2
Ephraim Tyler, . . . . .	.25	0	0	0	14	7
Isaac Van Alstine, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Old Vanalstine, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	1	0
James Vanalstine, . . . . .	.24	0	0	0	14	0
Frederick Vanderlip, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	1	0
Isaac Van Volkenbroug, . . . . .	.86	0	0	2	10	2

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Hendrick Winter,	50	0	0	1	9	2
Elisha Wilcox,	34	0	0	0	19	10
Henry Windecker,	37	0	0	1	1	7
Abram Workman,	70	0	0	2	0	10
John Williamson,	25	0	0	0	14	7
Thos ^s Wigton,	25	0	0	0	14	7
Amos York,	57	0	0	1	13	3

LACKAWAY DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
John Ainsly,	46	10	0	1	7	2
Hezekiah Bingham,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Roger Clark,	40	0	0	1	3	4
Uriah Chapman, Esq.,	56	0	0	1	12	8
Asa Chapman,	3	0	0	0	1	9
James Dye,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Stephen Edwards,	12	0	0	0	7	0
Capt. Eliab Farnham,	53	0	0	1	10	11
David Gates,	27	0	0	0	15	9
Nath ^l Gates,	3	0	0	0	1	9
Samuel Hallet,	22	0	0	0	12	10
Jonathan Haskell,	77	0	0	2	4	11
Zadock Killom,	77	0	0	2	4	11
Ephraim Killum,	34	0	0	0	19	10
Stephen Killum,	28	0	0	0	16	4
Jacob Kimbol,	98	0	0	2	17	2
Jno. & Wm Pellet,	61	0	0	1	15	7
Amos Park,	26	0	0	0	15	2
Zebulon Parish,	41	0	0	1	3	11
Stephen Parish,	21	0	0	0	12	3
Isaac Parish,	19	0	0	0	11	1
William Pellet,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Silas Park,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Nathan Thomas,	18	0	0	0	10	6
Enos Woodward, Jr.,	24	0	0	0	14	0
Elijah Winter,	35	0	0	1	0	5

CASHETON.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Joel Strong,	29	0	0	0	16	11

FOURFOLD FOR THE TOWN OF WESTMORELAND,

Anno 1776.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
James Cole,	144	0	0	4	4	0
Robt Frazer,	156	0	0	4	11	0
Samuel Freeman,	72	0	0	2	2	0
Daniel Gore,	72	0	0	2	2	0
Nicholas Huffman,	77	0	0	2	2	8
Thos ^s Levensworth,	48	0	0	1	8	0
Phineas Nash,	185	0	0	5	7	11
Jno. Shaw,	256	0	0	7	9	4

RATE BILL FOR KINGSTON DISTRICT,

ON AUGUST LIST, 1777.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
James Atherton and James Atherton, Jr.,	111	8	0	5	11	5
Asahel Atherton,	33	0	0	1	3	0
Isaac Baldwin,	57	0	0	2	17	0
Benj ⁿ Budd,	57	0	0	2	17	0
John Bass,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Henry Bush,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Aholiab Buck,	48	0	0	2	8	0
Willm Buck,	42	0	0	2	2	0
Asa Brown,	10	0	0	0	10	0
Thos ^s Bennet,	101	0	0	5	1	0
Wm Baker,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Richard Brockway,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Asahel Buck,	23	0	0	1	3	0
David Bixby,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Robt Campbell,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Samuel Cummins,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Amaziah Cleeland,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Elias Church,	56	0	0	2	16	0
John Cumstock,	41	0	0	2	1	0
Elnathan Cary,	74	0	0	3	14	0
Wm Crooks,	7	0	0	0	7	0
Peleg Cumstock,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Geo. Dorrance,	74	14	0	3	14	8
John Dorrance,	47	06	0	2	7	4
Henry Decker,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Joseph Disberry,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Amos Draper,	42	2	0	2	2	1
Isaac Downing,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Nathan Denison,	44	0	0	2	4	0
James Divine,	48	0	0	2	8	0
Esther Follet,	24	16	0	1	4	9
Thos ^s Foxen,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Peter Finch,	4	0	0	0	4	0
Isaac Finch,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Daniel Finch,	60	0	0	3	0	0
Stephen Fuller, Jr.,	37	10	0	1	17	6
John C. Fox,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Elipht Follet,	33	0	0	1	13	0
Gabril Ferguson,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Wm Gallop,	50	0	0	2	10	0
Hallet Gallop,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Lemuel Gustin,	89	0	0	4	9	0
Samuel Gordon,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Charles Gillet,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Silas Gore,	29	0	0	1	9	0
Asa Gore,	45	0	0	2	5	0

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Obah Gore, Esq.,	92	12	0	4	12	7
Peter Harris,	30	4	0	1	10	3
Elijah Harris,	25	0	0	1	5	0
William Hammond,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Lebbeus Hammond,	33	0	0	1	3	0
Daniel Hewet,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Christop ^r Hurlbut,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Dethick Huit,	33	0	0	1	3	0
John Hammond,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Oliver Hammond,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Daniel Ingersol,	34	0	0	1	15	0
Josiah Kellog, & Eldad Kellog,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Nath ^l Landon,	73	16	0	3	13	10
Peter Low,	94	0	0	4	14	0
Jesse Lee,	33	0	0	1	13	0
James Legget,	51	0	0	2	11	0
Winchester Mattheson,	50	12	0	2	10	7
Robt McIntire,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Ezekiel Pierce,	26	8	0	1	6	5
Timothy Pierce,	29	8	0	1	9	5
John Pierce,	14	0	0	0	14	0
Noah Pettebone,	58	6	0	2	18	4
John Perkins,	76	14	0	3	16	9
Timothy Rose,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Eben ^r Skinner,	9	0	0	0	9	0
Wm Stephens,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Constant Searls,	32	0	0	1	12	0
Will ^m Searls,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Thos Stoddard,	37	0	0	1	17	0
Joshna Stevens,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Lockwod Smith,	35	0	0	1	15	0
Widow Swift,	9	0	0	0	9	0
Jedidiah Stevens,	36	0	0	1	16	0
Elijah Shoemaker,	54	0	0	2	14	0
Luke Sweatland,	32	0	0	1	12	0
Parshall Terry,	82	10	0	4	2	6
Uriah Terry,	57	0	0	2	17	0
Lebbens Tubbs,	52	0	0	2	12	0
Nath ^l R. Terry,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Ichabod Tuttle,	32	0	0	1	12	0
Isaac Vanorman,	33	0	0	1	13	0
Isaac Underwood,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Stephen Whiton,	35	0	0	1	15	0
Ozias Yale,	40	18	0	2	0	11

WILKES BARRE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Christopher Avery,	55	14	0	2	15	9
John Abbot,	36	4	0	1	16	3
Wm Avery,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Richardson Avery,	43	12	0	2	3	7
Jonathan Avery,	131	0	0	6	11	0
Benj ⁿ Bayley,	59	10	0	2	19	6

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Colo Zebn Butler,	63	0	0	3	3	0
Thos Brown,	44	0	0	2	4	0
Isaac Bennet,	37	0	0	1	17	0
Asa Bennet,	39	0	0	1	19	0
John Brown,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Gideon Baldwin,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Elisha Blackman,	63	6	0	3	3	4
Nathan Bullock,	90	0	0	4	10	0
Geo. Cooper,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Wm Cooper,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Joseph Cooper,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Samuel Cole,	45	0	0	2	5	0
Eleazer Cary,	52	10	0	1	12	6
Nathan Cary,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Jarile Dyer,	71	0	0	3	11	0
Robt Durkee,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Jabez Darling,	22	0	0	1	2	0
David Darling,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Anderson Dana,	58	16	0	2	18	9
Wm Dorton,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Daniel Downing,	55	18	0	2	15	11
Wm Dun, Jr.,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Thomas Dunn,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Shadrack Darby,	51	0	0	2	11	0
Henry Elliot,	54	0	0	2	14	0
John Elliot,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Joseph Elliot,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Stephen Fuller,	104	12	0	5	4	7
Jabez Fish,	36	4	0	1	16	3
Elisha Fish,	29	4	0	1	9	3
Jonathan Fitch,	21	0	0	1	1	0
John Foster,	6	0	0	0	6	0
Obediah Gore, Jr.,	15	16	0	0	15	9
Daniel Gore,	42	7	0	2	2	4
Cornelius Gale,	21	0	0	1	1	0
James Green,	39	0	0	1	19	0
John Garret,	58	0	0	2	18	0
Rezin Ger,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Darius Hazen,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Zerniah Hazen,	44	10	0	2	4	6
John Hollenback,	225	0	0	11	5	0
Samuel Hutchinson,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Joseph Hubbard,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Saml Hutchinson, Jr,	18	0	0	0	18	0
John Hide,	21	0	0	1	1	0
John Hageman,	41	0	0	2	1	0
Enoch Judd,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Wm Judd,	4	8	6	0	4	6
Azariah Ketcham,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Benjn Kelly,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Solomon Lee,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Thos McCluer,	3	0	0	0	3	0
Wm Parker,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Thos Porter,	33	6	0	1	13	4

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Daniel Rosecrans,	12	0	0	0	12	0
Widow Ross,	64	0	0	3	4	0
Wm Rowley,	21	0	0	1	1	0
David Reynolds,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Isaac Rodes,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Darius Spofford,	65	0	0	3	5	0
Joseph Shaw,	36	0	0	1	16	0
Benjn Shaw,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Wm Start,	52	0	0	2	12	0
Josiah Smith,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Joseph Slocum,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Wm Hooker Smith,	68	0	0	3	8	0
Aron Start,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Asa Stevens,	45	0	0	2	5	0
John Smith,	61	12	0	3	1	7
Josiah Stansbrough,	240	0	0	12	0	0
Jabez Sell,	89	3	6	4	9	2
Elizabeth Start,	72	4	0	3	12	3
Joseph Staples,	51	0	0	2	11	0
John Staples,	3	0	0	0	3	0
Isaac Smith,	6	0	0	0	6	0
James Staples,	31	10	0	1	11	6
Samuel Staples,	21	0	0	1	1	0
John Truesdell,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Gama G. Truesdell,	29	0	0	1	9	0
Job Tripp,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Justus Worden,	29	0	0	1	9	0
John White,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Jonath ⁿ Weeks,	10	0	0	0	10	0
Jonath ⁿ Weeks, Jr.,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Philip Weeks,	36	0	0	1	16	0
Peter Wheeler,	28	0	0	1	8	0
John Williams,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Thaddens Williams,	44	10	0	2	4	6
Daniel Whitney,	61	10	0	3	1	6
James Wigton,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Flavius Waterman,	25	0	0	1	5	0
William Warner,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Elihu Waters,	21	0	0	1	1	0

PLYMOUTH DISTRICT.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Samuel Andrews,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Samuel Ayers,	46	13	0	2	6	8
Mary Baker,	16	10	0	0	16	6
James Bedlock,	43	10	0	2	3	6
Joshua Bennet,	40	11	0	2	0	6
Nathan Beech,	52	0	0	2	12	0
Bull & Goodwin,	7	0	0	0	7	0
Benjn Cole,	57	6	0	2	17	4
Jonathan Center,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Joshua Coleman,	21	0	0	1	1	0
John Colwell,	19	0	0	0	19	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
John Coleman,	36	0	0	1	16	0
Jesse Coleman,	9	0	0	0	9	0
Wm Churchill,	44	14	0	2	4	9
Thos Cascadden,	81	0	0	4	1	0
James Cole,	40	0	0	2	0	0
Jeremiah Coleman,	59	14	0	2	19	9
Jonathan Churchill,	20	14	0	1	0	9
Jeremiah Coleman, Jr.,	3	0	0	0	3	0
Richard Dodson,	27	0	0	1	7	0
John Dodson,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Gilbert Denton,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Thomas Dodson,	21	0	0	1	1	0
James Dodson,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Joseph Dewey,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Frederick Eveland,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Hugh Forgeman,	48	0	0	2	8	0
Jeha Fish,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Jonth Forsith,	41	0	0	2	1	0
John Franklin, Jr.,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Robert Fraser,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Joseph Gaylord,	24	12	0	1	4	7
Aaron Gaylord,	32	0	0	1	12	0
Justus Gaylord,	59	8	0	2	19	5
Philip Goss,	58	12	0	2	18	7
Solomon Goss,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Philip Goss, Jr.,	40	0	0	2	0	0
Nathal Goss,	33	0	0	1	13	0
David Goss,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Thomas Heath,	34	16	0	1	14	9
James Hopkins,	35	16	0	1	15	9
Timothy Hopkins,	15	4	0	0	15	3
Jonathan Hunlock,	45	10	0	2	5	6
Geo. Herriga,	27	0	0	1	7	0
William Hurlebut,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Andrew Herrigo,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Benjn Harvey,	91	0	0	4	11	0
Jacob Holdrin,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Silas Harvey,	36	12	0	1	16	7
John Heath,	61	0	0	3	1	0
Zach. Hartziff,	57	0	0	2	17	0
Saml Jackson,	61	0	0	3	1	0
Samnel Jackson, Jr.,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Thos Kitchen,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Benjn Kilbourn,	30	0	0	1	10	0
Stephen Lee,	79	0	0	3	19	0
Zebulon Lee,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Wm Landon,	52	0	0	2	12	0
Rufus Lawrence,	35	0	0	1	15	0
David Linsy,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Thos Levensworth,	20	0	0	1	0	0
Gid Marshall,	76	0	0	3	16	0
Nicholas Manvil,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Samuel Marvin,	24	0	0	1	4	0
David Marvin,	43	4	0	2	3	2

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Uriah Marvin,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Ephraim McCoy,	6	0	0	0	6	0
Phineas Nash,	38	15	0	1	18	9
James Nesbet,	39	4	0	1	19	3
Wm Nelson,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Daniel Owen,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Jonathan Otis,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Peter Pue,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Noah Pettebone, Jr.,	36	14	0	1	13	9
Elisha Parker,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Giles Permon,	21	0	0	1	1	0
James Parker,	37	0	0	1	17	0
Junia Preston,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Nebemiah Parks,	7	0	0	0	7	0
Perin Ross,	56	0	0	2	16	0
James Roberts,	32	16	0	1	12	9
Daniel Roberts,	40	9	0	2	0	6
Hezekiah Roberts,	35	11	0	1	15	6
James Roberts,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Josiah Rogers,	37	4	0	1	17	3
Benj ⁿ Reed,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Jonah Rogers,	40	2	0	2	0	1
Mary Roberts,	29	7	0	1	9	4
Wm Reynolds,	43	10	0	2	3	6
David Reynolds,	10	0	0	0	10	0
Elisha Richards,	41	12	0	2	1	6
Samuel Ransom,	68	10	0	3	8	6
Wm Steward,	72	0	0	3	12	0
Simon Spalding,	11	11	0	0	11	6
Benedick Satterly,	37	8	0	1	17	5
Daniel Sherwood,	39	0	0	1	19	0
Oliver Smith,	48	0	0	2	8	0
Obeliah Scott,	44	0	0	2	4	0
Solomon Squire,	38	0	0	1	18	0
Jacob Slye,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Peter Stevens,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Thomas Sawyer,	42	0	0	2	2	0
Daniel Trask,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Matthias Vanlone,	42	0	0	2	2	0
John Vanuy,	37	4	0	1	17	3
Rufus Williams,	46	16	0	2	06	9
Elihu Williams, Jr.,	26	-	-	-	-	-
Willm White,	37	6	0	1	17	4
Asaph Whittlesey,	27	8	0	1	7	5
Nathan Wade,	40	0	0	2	0	0
Samuel Williams,	24	0	0	1	4	0
John Wilson,	66	4	0	3	6	3
Jesse Washbourn,	30	0	0	1	10	0

HANNOVER DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Prince Alden,	33	0	0	1	13	0
Wm Armstrong,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Robt Alexander,	47	0	0	2	7	0
Peleg Burret,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Daman Beef,	29	0	0	1	9	0
Gideon Burret,	18	0	0	0	18	0
John Bony,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Stephen Burret,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Isaac Booth,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Gideon Booth,	24	0	0	1	4	0
James Brink,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Isaac Bennet, Jr.,	35	0	0	1	15	0
Jeremiah Bickford,	45	0	0	2	5	0
Henry Burny,	52	0	0	2	12	0
Aron Bowen,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Stodard Bowen,	24	0	0	1	4	0
James Cook,	48	0	0	2	8	0
James Corkindale,	18	0	0	0	18	0
John Commer,	73	0	0	3	13	0
Kingsly Cumstock,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Jonathan Cory,	100	0	0	5	0	0
Jenks Cory,	40	0	0	2	0	0
Christr Cortright,	33	0	0	1	13	0
Elisha Cortright,	32	0	0	1	12	0
John Corlite,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Isaac Campbell,	33	0	0	1	13	0
James Cochran,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Charles Carrell,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Alexander Campbell,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Wm Hesson,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Samuel Davenport,	4	0	0	0	4	0
Nathal Davenport,	88	0	0	4	8	0
John Eising,	35	0	0	1	15	0
Isaac Fitchet,	66	0	0	3	6	0
Andrew Freeman,	41	0	0	2	1	0
James Forsith,	37	0	0	1	17	0
Roswell Franklin,	36	0	0	1	16	0
John Franklin,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Elias Green,	35	0	0	1	15	0
Nathanl Howard,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Samuel Howard,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Cyprian Hibbard,	36	0	0	1	16	0
Titus Henman,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Willm Hibbard,	44	0	0	2	4	0
Ebenr Hibbard,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Nathan Howel,	19	0	0	0	19	0
John Hutchins,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Israel Inman,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Richd Inman,	64	0	0	3	4	0
Elijah Inman, Jr.,	38	0	0	1	18	0
David Inman,	19	0	0	0	19	0
John Jacobs,	22	0	0	1	2	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Samuel Ensigne,	3	0	0	0	3	0
Robt Jamison,	76	0	0	3	16	0
John Jamison	35	0	0	1	15	0
Wm Jamison,	21	0	0	1	1	0
George Liquers,	57	0	0	2	17	0
Edward Lester,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Eben Lane,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Conrod Lines,	71	0	0	3	11	0
James Lasly,	40	0	0	2	0	0
George Mack,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Jacob Morris,	59	0	0	2	19	0
Wm Mc Characan,	30	0	0	1	10	0
Benjn Potts,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Josiah Pell,	48	0	0	2	8	0
Wm Randall,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Capt Lazs Steward,	137	16	0	6	17	9
Lazs Steward, Jr.,	39	0	0	1	19	0
James Spencer,	32	0	0	1	12	0
Edward Spencer,	83	0	0	4	3	0
Wm Smith, Jnr,	42	0	0	2	2	0
James Stevenson,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Caleb Spencer,	98	0	0	4	18	0
Wm Smith,	30	0	0	1	10	0
John Sharar,	25	0	0	1	5	0
John Tilbury,	44	0	0	2	4	0
Lines Spencer,	26	0	0	1	6	0
John Walker,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Adam White,	12	0	0	0	12	0
Robt Youngs,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Japhet Utley,	24	0	0	1	4	0

PITTSTOWN DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
James Bagley,	34	0	0	1	14	0
John Ryon,	5	0	0	0	5	0
Zachry Squire,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Capt Jerh Blanchard,	51	0	0	2	11	0
Joseph Leonard,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Eton Jones,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Francis Philips,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Isaac Finch,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Elihu Cary,	36	0	0	1	16	0
Isaac Baldwin,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Wm Shay,	33	8	0	1	13	5
Barnabas Cary,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Joseph Cary,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Rufus Baldwin,	18	0	0	0	18	0
John Scott,	56	0	0	2	16	0
Daniel Cash,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Joseph Sprague,	33	0	0	1	13	0
Nathl Williams,	8	0	0	0	8	0
Isaiah Halsted,	35	0	0	1	15	0
James Lewis,	29	0	0	1	9	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Sam ^l Slater, Jr.,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Dan ^l St. John,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Rich ^d Halstead,	53	0	0	2	13	0
Levi Hix,	59	0	0	2	19	0
Isaac Adams,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Ephraim Sanford,	44	0	0	2	4	0
Caleb Bates, Esq.,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Samuel Miller,	55	0	0	2	15	0
Squire Whittaker,	41	0	0	2	1	0
Abraham Harding,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Noah Adams,	34	18	0	1	14	11
James Moore,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Eleaz ^r West,	41	0	0	2	1	0
James Brown,	41	16	0	2	1	9
Daniel Allen,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Isaac Allen,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Thos ^s Angel,	38	0	0	1	18	0
Eben ^r Marcy,	26	0	0	1	16	0
Samuel Slater,	75	16	0	3	15	9
Zebulon Marcy,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Rich ^d Jones,	33	0	0	1	13	0
Alexander Macky,	45	0	0	2	5	0
Elijah Silsby,	26	6	0	1	6	4
David Sanford,	31	0	0	1	11	0
David Allen,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Will ^m Benedick,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Joseph Thomas,	39	0	0	1	19	0
Timothy Howe,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Am ^y Willcox,	23	0	0	1	3	0
James Moore, Jr.,	24	0	0	1	4	0
William Williams,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Timothy Pearce,	23	0	0	1	3	0
John Carr,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Thos ^s Hardin,	40	0	0	2	0	0
John Stafford,	28	0	0	1	8	0
W ^m Stark,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Aron Stark,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Increase Billings,	36	0	0	1	16	0
John White,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Solomon Lee,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Justus Worden,	29	0	0	1	9	0
Geo. Cooper,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Esq ^r Isaac Tripp,	67	4	0	3	7	2
Job. Trip,	60	0	0	3	0	0
Thos ^s —	22	0	0	1	2	0
Thos ^s Christy,	42	0	0	2	2	0
Silas Benedick,	42	0	0	2	2	0
Justus Picket,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Tim ^o Keyes,	60	10	0	3	0	6
Thos ^s Picket,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Preserve & John Taylor,	69	0	0	3	9	0

UP THE RIVER LIST.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Wm Pawling,	85	0	0	4	5	0
Elisha Willcox,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Thos Willcox,	21	0	0	1	1	0
John Thorington (pro Herrington),	21	0	0	1	1	0
Reuben Herrington,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Frederick Smith,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Elijah Brown,	28	0	0	1	8	0
John Pensler	6	0	0	0	6	0
Frederick Anker,	38	0	0	1	18	0
Abel Palmer,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Michael Showers,	30	0	0	1	10	0
Nathan Kingsly,	32	0	0	1	12	0
Benjn Eaton,	73	0	0	3	13	0
Benjn Skiff,	35	0	0	1	15	0
Capt Robt Carr	38	0	0	1	18	0
Lemuel Fitch,	38	0	0	1	18	0
Richd Fitz Gerald,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Minor Robbins,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Benjn Marcy,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Elijah Phelps,	85	0	0	4	5	0
Joseph Winkler,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Ezer Curtis,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Amos York,	48	0	0	2	8	0
Ichabod Phelps,	23	0	0	1	3	0
James Wells,	13	0	0	0	13	0
Ishmael Bennet,	74	0	0	3	14	0
Isac Falkenburg,	45	0	0	2	5	0
Bastion Strobe,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Gart Vanderbarrack,	30	0	0	1	10	0
James Vanalstine,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Isaac Laraway,	55	0	0	2	15	0
Old Vanalstine,	9	0	0	0	9	0
Isaac Vanalstine,	24	0	0	1	4	0

EXETER DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
John Jenkins, Esq.,	123	0	0	6	3	0
Elisha Scovil,	96	0	0	4	16	0
Capt Stephen Harding,	82	0	0	4	2	0
Wm Martin,	57	0	0	2	17	0
David Smith,	61	0	0	3	1	0
Chrisr Wintermoot,	74	0	0	3	14	0
Philip Wintermoot,	24	0	0	1	4	0
John Wintermoot,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Peter Harris, Jr.,	40	0	0	2	0	0
Benjn Jones,	45	10	0	2	5	6
Joseph Baker,	33	0	0	1	13	0
James Headsal,	131	0	0	6	11	0
John D. Shoemaker,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Mauassa Cady,	20	0	0	1	0	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Richd Tozer, . . . . .	.41	0	0	2	1	0
Richd West, . . . . .	.41	0	0	2	1	0
Justis Jones, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
James Sutton, . . . . .	.25	0	0	1	5	0
James Finn, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
John Gardner, . . . . .	.26	0	0	1	6	0
Stephen Gardner, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	15	0
Saml Morgan, . . . . .	.31	0	0	1	11	0
Thos Joslin, . . . . .	.19	0	0	0	19	0
James Newton, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Saml Tozer, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
Stephen Harding, . . . . .	.23	0	0	1	3	0
Lem. Harding, . . . . .	.26	0	0	1	6	0
Nathan Bradly, . . . . .	.20	0	0	1	0	0

LACKAWACK DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Jonathan Haskell, . . . . .	.81	0	0	4	1	0
Jacob Kimbol, . . . . .	.86	0	0	4	6	0
Abel Kimbol, . . . . .	.27	0	0	1	7	0
Walter Kimbol, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
Moses Killum, . . . . .	.25	0	0	1	5	0
Zadock Killum, . . . . .	.56	0	0	2	16	0
Ephraim Killum, . . . . .	.32	0	0	1	12	0
Amcs Park, . . . . .	.28	0	0	1	8	0
Jepthah Killum, . . . . .	.33	10	0	1	13	6
Elijah Witter, . . . . .	.45	0	0	2	5	0
Silas Park, Esq., . . . . .	.32	0	0	1	12	0
Hezekiah Bingham, . . . . .	.37	0	0	1	17	0
Enos Woodward, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
Uriah Chapman, Esq ^r, . . . . .	.56	0	0	2	16	0
John Killum, . . . . .	.43	0	0	2	03	0
Zebulon Parrish, . . . . .	.43	0	0	2	03	0
Jasper Edwards, . . . . .	.45	0	0	2	05	0
Enos Woodward, Jr., . . . . .	.27	0	0	1	7	0
John Ainsly, . . . . .	.56	0	0	2	16	0
Capt Eliab Farnham, . . . . .	.46	0	0	2	6	0
James Dye, . . . . .	.22	0	0	1	2	0
Nathl Gates, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
Roger Clark, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
David Gates, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
Joel Stroug, . . . . .	.29	0	0	1	9	0
John Pellet, Jr., . . . . .	.49	0	0	2	9	0
Wm Pellet, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	5	0

MEMORANDA ON LAST PAGE OF ORIGINAL.

	£.	s.	d.
Received of Elijah Scovel,	2	0	0
" " Lebeus Tubbs,	3	12	0
" " Philip Goss,	1	5	6
" " James Nesbet,	0	18	0
" " John Jameson,	0	19	10
" " Elijah Inman,	1	0	9
" " Philip Weeks,	1	10	0
" " *John Whites acct., }	1	2	3
Wm Stark. }			
" " Phineas Nash,	0	8	9
" " Perrin Ross,	0	16	0
" " Thos Joslin,	0	1	11
" " Stevenson,	0	6	0
" " ———	10	0	0

MEMORANDA ON LOOSE SHEET.

	£.	s.	d.
Isaac Baldwin, Esqr	57	0	0
Lemuel Gustin,	50	0	0
Thos Bennet,	20	0	0
Jon ⁿ Avery,	100	0	0
Benj ⁿ Bayley,	20	0	0
Doc ^r Dyer,	50	0	0
Doc ^r Derby,	30	0	0
John Hollenback	200	0	0
John Hagaman,	20	0	0
Darria Spofford,	20	0	0
Wm H. Smith,	50	0	0
Josiah Stanborough,	180	0	0
Jon ⁿ Cory,	20	0	0
Jenks Cory,	10	0	0
Nath ^l Davenport,	18	0	0
Richard Inman,	20	0	0
Caleb Spencer,	10	0	0
Thos Cascadden,	54	0	0
Perin Ross,	20	0	0
Wm Stewart,	50	0	0
Nathan Wade,	10	0	0
Ishmael Bennet,	50	0	0
Eton Jones,	40	0	0
James Divine,	20	0	0

* John Whites name erased.

RATES FOR NOV. 1st, 1778.

KINGSTON DISTRICT, 1777.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
James Atherton and }	111	8	0	5	11	5
James Atherton, Junr }						
Ashael Atherton,	33	0	0	1	13	0
Isaac Baldwin,	57	0	0	2	17	0
Benjn Budd,	57	0	0	2	17	0
John Bass,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Henry Bush,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Aholiab Buck,	48	0	0	2	8	0
William Buck,	42	0	0	2	2	0
Asa Brown,	10	0	0	0	10	0
Thomas Bennet,	101	0	0	5	1	0
William Baker,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Richard Brockway,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Asahel Buck,	23	0	0	1	3	0
David Bixby,	21	0	0	1	1	1
Robt Campbell,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Samuel Commins,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Amaziah Cleveland,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Elias Church,	56	0	0	2	16	0
John Comstock,	41	0	0	2	1	0
Elnathan Cory,	74	0	0	3	14	0
Wm Crooks,	7	0	0	0	7	0
Peleg Comstock,	22	0	0	1	2	0
George Dorrance,	74	14	0	3	14	9
John Dorrance,	47	6	0	2	7	5
Henry Decker,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Joseph Desberry,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Amos Draper,	42	2	0	2	2	2
Isaac Downing,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Nathan Denison,	44	0	0	2	4	0
James Divine,	48	0	0	2	8	0
Esther Follet,	29	16	0	1	4	10
Thos —[Foxen]	18	0	0	0	18	0
Peter Finch	4	0	0	0	4	0
Isaac Finch,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Dani'l Finich,	60	0	0	3	0	0
Stephen Fuller, Junr	37	10	0	1	17	5
John C. Fox,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Eliphalet Follet,	33	0	0	1	13	0
Garit Ferguson,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Wm Gallup,	50	0	0	2	10	0
Hallet Gallup,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Lemuel Gustin,	89	0	0	4	9	0
Samuel Gordon,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Charles Gillet,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Silas Gore,	29	0	0	1	9	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Asa Gore, . . . . .	.45	0	0	2	5	0
Obadiah Gore, . . . . .	.92	12	0	4	12	7
Peter Harris, . . . . .	.30	4	0	1	10	3
Elijah Harris, . . . . .	.25	0	0	1	5	0
Wm Hammond, . . . . .	.11	0	0	0	11	0
Lebbeus Hammond, . . . . .	.33	0	0	1	13	0
Daniel Hewet, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Dothick Hewet, . . . . .	.33	0	0	0	13	0
Christopr Hurlbut, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
John Hammond, . . . . .	.28	0	0	1	8	0
Oliver Hammond, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Daniel Ingerson, . . . . .	.34	0	0	1	14	0
Josiah Kellog & } Eldad Kellog. }	.43	0	0	2	3	0
Nathel Landon . . . . .	.73	16	0	3	13	10
Peter Low, . . . . .	.94	0	0	4	14	0
Jesse Lee, . . . . .	.33	0	0	1	13	0
James Legget, . . . . .	.51	0	0	2	11	0
Winchester Matthewson, . . . . .	.50	12	0	2	10	7
Robert McIntire, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Ezekiel Pierce, . . . . .	.29	8	0	1	9	5
Timothy Pierce, . . . . .	.29	8	0	1	9	5
John Pierce, . . . . .	.14	0	0	0	14	0
Noah Pattebone, . . . . .	.58	6	0	2	18	4
John Perkins, . . . . .	.76	19	0	3	16	9
Timothy Rose, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Pershal Terry, . . . . .	.82	10	0	4	2	6
Uriah Terry, . . . . .	.57	0	0	2	17	0
Lebbens Tubb, . . . . .	.52	0	0	2	12	0
Nathel Terry, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
William Stephens, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
Ebenr Skinner, . . . . .	.9	0	0	0	9	0
Constant Searles, . . . . .	.32	0	0	1	12	0
Wm Searls, . . . . .	.23	0	0	1	3	0
Thos Stodard, . . . . .	.37	0	0	1	17	0
Joshua Stevens, . . . . .	.22	0	0	1	2	0
Widow Swift, . . . . .	.9	0	0	0	9	0
Lockwood Smith, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	15	0
Jedediah Stevens, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	16	0
Elijah Shoemaker, . . . . .	.54	0	0	2	14	0
Luke Sweatland, . . . . .	.32	0	0	1	12	0
Ichabod Tuttle, . . . . .	.32	0	0	1	12	0
Isaac Vanorman, . . . . .	.33	0	0	1	13	0
Isaac Underwood, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
Stephen White, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	15	0
Ozias Yale, . . . . .	.40	78	0	2	0	11

WILKSARRY DESTRIC.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Christopr Avery, . . . . .	.55	14	0	2	15	9
John Abbot, . . . . .	.36	4	0	1	16	4
Wm Avery, . . . . .	.34	0	0	1	14	0
Richardson Avery, . . . . .	.43	12	0	2	3	1

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jonathan Avery,	131	0	0	6	11	0
Benjn Bayley,	59	10	0	2	19	6
Col. Zebn Butler,	63	0	0	3	3	0
Thomas Brown,	44	0	0	2	4	0
Isaac Bennett,	37	0	0	1	17	0
Asa Bennet,	39	0	0	1	19	0
John Brown,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Gideon Baldwin,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Elisha Blackman,	63	6	0	3	3	4
Nathan Bullock,	90	0	0	4	10	0
Geo. Cooper,	28	0	0	1	8	0
William Coper,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Joseph Crooker,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Samuel Cole,	45	0	0	2	5	0
Eleazer Cary,	52	10	0	2	12	6
Nathan Cary,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Jarib Dyer,	71	0	0	3	11	0
Robt Durkee,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Jabez Darling,	22	0	0	1	2	0
David Darling,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Anderson Dana,	58	16	0	2	18	9
William Dorton,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Dani'l Downing,	55	18	0	2	15	11
Wm Dunn, Junr,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Thomas Dunn,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Shadrack Darby,	51	0	0	2	11	0
Henry Elliot,	54	0	0	2	14	0
John Elliot,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Josep Elliot,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Stephen Fuller,	104	12	0	5	4	7
Jabez Fish,	36	4	0	1	16	2
Elisha Fish,	29	4	0	1	19	2
Jonathan Fitch,	21	0	0	1	1	0
John Foster,	6	0	0	0	6	0
Obadiah Gore, Junr,	15	16	0	0	15	10
Daniel Gore,	42	7	0	2	2	6
Cornelius Gale,	21	0	0	1	1	0
James Green,	39	0	0	1	19	0
John Garret,	58	0	0	2	18	0
Rozin Geer,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Darius Hazen,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Jeremiah Hazen,	44	10	0	2	4	6
John Hollenback,	225	0	0	11	5	0
Samuel Hutchinson,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Joseph Hubberd,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Samuel Hutchenson, Jr.,	18	0	0	0	18	0
John Hide,	21	0	0	1	1	0
John Hageman,	41	0	0	2	1	0
Enoch Judd,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Wm Judd,	48	6	0	2	8	5
Azariah Ketcham,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Benjn Kelly,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Solomon Lee,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Tho ^s McCluer,	3	0	0	0	3	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
William Parker,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Thos Porter,	33	6	0	1	13	4
Daniel Rosecrance,	12	0	0	0	12	0
Widow Ross,	64	0	0	3	4	0
William Rowley,	21	0	0	1	1	0
David Reynolds,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Isaac Rodies,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Darius Spofford,	65	0	0	3	5	0
Joseph Shaw,	36	0	0	1	16	0
Benjn Shaw,	25	0	0	1	5	0
William Start,	52	0	0	2	12	0
Josiah Smith,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Joseph Slocum,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Wm H. Smith,	68	0	0	3	8	0
Aaron Start,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Asa Stevens,	45	0	0	2	5	0
John Smith,	61	12	0	3	1	7
Josiah Stanbrough,	240	0	0	12	0	0
Jabez Sills,	89	3	6	4	9	3
Elizabeth Start,	72	4	0	3	12	3
Joseph Staples,	51	0	0	2	12	0
John Staples,	3	0	0	0	3	0
Isaac Smith,	6	0	0	0	6	0
James Staples,	31	10	0	1	11	6
Samuel Staples,	21	0	0	1	1	0
John Truesdell,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Gamaliel Truesdell,	29	0	0	1	9	0
Job. Trip,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Justus Worden,	29	0	0	1	9	0
John White,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Jonathan Weeks,	10	0	0	0	10	0
Jonathan Weeks, Junr,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Philip Weeks,	36	0	0	1	16	0
Peter Wheeler,	28	0	0	1	8	0
John William,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Thaddeus William,	44	10	0	2	4	6
David Whitney,	61	10	0	3	1	8
James Wigton,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Flavius Waterman,	25	0	0	1	5	0
William Warner,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Elihu Waters,	21	0	0	1	1	0

PLYMOUTH DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Samuel Andrews,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Samuel Ayres,	46	13	0	2	6	8
Mary Baker,	16	10	0	0	16	6
James Bedlock,	43	10	0	2	3	6
Joshua Bennet,	40	11	0	2	0	7
Nathan Beech,	52	0	0	2	12	0
Bull & Goodwin,	7	0	0	0	7	0
Benjn Cole,	57	6	0	2	17	4

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jonathan Center,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Joshua Coleman,	21	0	0	1	1	0
John Colwell,	19	0	0	0	19	0
John Coleman,	36	0	0	1	16	0
Jesse Coleman,	9	0	0	0	9	0
Wm Churchill,	44	14	0	2	4	0
Thos ^s Cascadden,	81	0	0	4	1	0
James Cole,	40	0	0	2	0	0
Jeremiah Coleman,	59	14	0	2	19	9
Jonathan Churchill,	20	14	0	1	0	9
Jeremiah Coleman, Jr.,	3	0	0	0	3	0
Richard Dodson,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Gilbert Denton,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Thos ^s Dodson,	21	0	0	1	1	0
James Dodson,	18	0	0	0	18	0
John Dodson,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Joseph Dewy,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Frederick Eucland,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Hugh Forgerman,	48	0	0	2	8	0
Jehu Fish,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Jonathan Forsith,	41	0	0	2	1	0
John Franklin, Jr.,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Robt Frazer,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Joseph Gaylord,	24	12	0	1	4	7
Aaron Gaylord,	32	0	0	1	12	0
Justus Gaylord,	59	8	0	2	19	5
Philip Goss,	58	12	0	2	18	9
Solomon Goss,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Philip Goss, Junr ^r ,	40	0	0	2	0	0
Nathl ^l Goss,	33	0	0	1	3	0
David Goss,	19	0	0	0	19	0
Thos ^s Heath,	34	16	0	1	14	10
James Hopkins,	35	16	0	1	15	10
Timothy Hopkins,	15	4	0	0	15	3
Jonathan Hunlock,	45	10	0	2	5	6
George Herraga,	27	0	0	1	7	0
Andrew Herraga,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Wm Hurlebut,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Benjn ⁿ Harvey,	91	0	0	4	11	0
Jacob Holdrin,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Silas Harvey,	36	12	0	1	16	7
John Heath,	61	0	0	3	1	0
Zack. Hartziff,	57	0	0	2	17	0
Samuel Jackson,	61	0	0	3	1	0
Samuel Jackson, Junr ^r ,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Thos ^s Kitchin,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Benjn ⁿ Kilbourn,	30	0	0	1	10	0
Stephen Lee,	79	0	0	3	19	0
Zebulon Lee,	18	0	0	0	18	0
William Landon,	52	0	0	2	12	0
Rufus Larrance,	35	0	0	1	15	0
David Linsly,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Thos ^s Levensworth,	20	0	0	1	0	0
Gad Marshall,	76	0	0	3	16	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Nicolas Manvil, . . . . .	.23	0	0	1	3	0
Samuel Marvin, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
David Marvin, . . . . .	.43	4	4	2	3	3
Uriah Marvin, . . . . .	.19	0	0	0	19	0
Ephraim McCoy, . . . . .	.6	0	0	0	6	0
Phineas Nash, . . . . .	.38	15	0	1	18	9
James Nesbet, . . . . .	.39	4	0	1	19	3
Wm Nilson, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
Daniel Owen, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
Jonathan Otis, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Peter Pue, . . . . .	.28	0	0	1	8	0
Noah Pettebone, Jr., . . . . .	.36	14	0	1	16	9
Parker Elisha, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
Permon Giles, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
James Parker, . . . . .	.37	0	0	1	17	0
Junia Preston, . . . . .	.22	0	0	1	2	0
Nehemiah Parks, . . . . .	.7	0	0	0	7	0
Perin Ross, . . . . .	.56	0	0	2	6	0
James Roberts, . . . . .	.32	16	0	1	12	9
Hezekiah Roberts, . . . . .	.35	11	0	1	15	6
Dani ^l Roberts, . . . . .	.40	9	0	2	0	6
James Roberts, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Josiah Rogers, . . . . .	.37	4	0	1	17	3
Benj ⁿ Reed, . . . . .	.28	0	0	1	8	0
Jonah Rogers, . . . . .	.40	2	0	2	0	1
Mary Roberts, . . . . .	.29	7	0	1	9	4
William Reynolds, . . . . .	.43	10	0	2	3	6
David Reynolds, . . . . .	.10	0	0	0	10	0
Elisha Richards, . . . . .	.41	12	0	2	1	7
Samuel Ranson, . . . . .	.68	10	0	3	8	6
Wm Steward, . . . . .	.72	0	0	3	12	0
Simon Spalding, . . . . .	.11	11	0	0	11	6
Bened ^k Satterly, . . . . .	.37	8	0	1	17	5
Daniel Sharwood, . . . . .	.39	0	0	1	19	0
Oliver Smith, . . . . .	.48	0	0	2	8	0
Obadiah Scott, . . . . .	.44	0	0	2	4	0
Solomon Squire, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
Jacob Sty, . . . . .	.34	0	0	1	14	0
Peter Stevens, . . . . .	.22	0	0	1	2	0
Thos ^s Sawyer, . . . . .	.42	0	0	2	2	0
Daniel Trash, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
Matthias Vanlone, . . . . .	.42	0	0	2	2	0
Rufus Williams, . . . . .	.46	16	0	2	6	9
Elihu William, Jr., . . . . .	.26	0	0	1	6	0
Elihu Williams, . . . . .	.50	10	0	2	10	6
William White, . . . . .	.37	6	0	1	7	4
Asaph Whittlesy, . . . . .	.27	8	0	1	7	5
Nathan Wade, . . . . .	.40	0	0	2	0	0
Samuel Williams, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
John Willsons, . . . . .	.66	4	0	3	6	3
Jesse Washbourn, . . . . .	.30	0	0	1	10	0
John Vanuy, . . . . .	.37	4	0	1	17	3

HANOVER DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Prince Alden, . . . . .	.33	0	0	1	13	0
Willm Armstrong, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Robt Alexander, . . . . .	.47	0	0	2	7	0
Peleg Burret, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
Daman Beef, . . . . .	.29	0	0	1	9	0
Gideon Burret, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
John Bony, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
Stephen Burret, . . . . .	.26	0	0	1	6	0
Isaac Booth, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
Gideon Booth, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
James Brink, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
Isaac Bennet, Jr., . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	15	0
Jeremiah Bickford, . . . . .	.45	0	0	2	5	0
Henry Burny, . . . . .	.52	0	0	2	12	0
Aaron Bowin, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Stodard Bowin, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
James Cook, . . . . .	.48	0	0	2	8	0
James Corkindale, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
John Commer, . . . . .	.73	0	0	3	3	0
Alex ^d Campbell, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Kingsly Comstock, . . . . .	.31	0	0	1	11	0
Jonathan Cory, . . . . .	.100	0	0	5	0	0
Jenks Cory, . . . . .	.40	0	0	2	0	0
Christopher Cortright, . . . . .	.33	0	0	1	13	0
Elisha Cortright, . . . . .	.32	0	0	1	12	0
John Carlile, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
Isaac Campbell, . . . . .	.33	0	0	1	3	0
James Cochran, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Charles Cerll, . . . . .	.26	0	0	1	6	0
William Casson, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Samuel Devenport, . . . . .	.4	0	0	0	4	0
Nath ^l Devenport, . . . . .	.88	0	0	4	8	0
John Euing, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	15	0
Isaac Fitchet, . . . . .	.66	0	0	3	6	0
Andrew Freeman, . . . . .	.41	0	0	2	1	0
James Forsith, . . . . .	.37	0	0	1	17	0
Roswell Franklin, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	16	0
John Franklin, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
Elias Green, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	15	0
Nath ^l Howard, . . . . .	.22	0	0	1	2	0
Cipprian Hubbard, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	16	0
Wm Hibbard, . . . . .	.44	0	0	2	4	0
Titus Henman, . . . . .	.43	0	0	2	3	0
Eben ^r Hibbard, . . . . .	.25	0	0	1	5	0
Nathan Howel, . . . . .	.19	0	0	0	19	0
John Hutchins, . . . . .	.22	0	0	1	2	0
Israel Inman, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
Richard Inman, . . . . .	.46	0	0	2	6	0
Elijah Inman, Jr., . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
Elijah Inman, . . . . .	.64	0	0	3	4	0
David Inman, . . . . .	.19	0	0	0	19	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
John Jacobs, . . . . .	.22	0	0	1	2	0
Samuel Ensines, . . . . .	.3	0	0	0	3	0
Robard Jamison, . . . . .	.76	0	0	3	16	0
John Jamison, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	15	0
Wm Jamison, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
George Liguers, . . . . .	.57	0	0	2	17	0
Edward Lester, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
Ebenezer Lane, . . . . .	.13	0	0	0	18	0
Conrad Lines, . . . . .	.71	0	0	3	11	0
James Lasly, . . . . .	.40	0	0	2	0	0
George Mack, . . . . .	.27	0	0	1	7	0
Jacob Morris, . . . . .	.59	0	0	2	19	0
Wm McCarracan, . . . . .	.30	0	0	1	10	0
Benjn Potts, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Josiah Pell, . . . . .	.48	0	0	2	8	0
Wm Randall, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Capt. Lazarus Steward, . . . . .	.137	16	0	6	17	9
Lazarus Steward, Jr., . . . . .	.39	0	0	1	19	0
James Spencer, . . . . .	.32	0	0	1	12	0
Edward Spencer, . . . . .	.83	0	0	4	3	0
Wm Smith, Junr, . . . . .	.42	0	0	2	2	0
James Stevenson, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Caleb Spencer, . . . . .	.98	0	0	4	18	0
Wm Smith, . . . . .	.30	0	0	1	10	0
John Sharar, . . . . .	.25	0	0	1	5	0
John Silbury, . . . . .	.44	0	0	2	4	0
Levi Spencer, . . . . .	.26	0	0	1	6	0
John Walker, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
Adam White, . . . . .	.12	0	0	0	12	0
Robert Youngs, . . . . .	.27	0	0	1	7	0
Japhet Utley, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0

PITTSTOWN DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Isaac Adams, . . . . .	.34	0	0	1	14	0
Duke Adams, . . . . .	.34	18	0	1	14	11
Daniel Allen, . . . . .	.22	0	0	1	2	0
Isaac Allen, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
Thos Angel, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
David Allen, . . . . .	.19	0	0	0	19	0
Increase Billings, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	16	0
Silas Benedick, . . . . .	.42	0	0	2	2	0
Wm Benedick, . . . . .	.23	0	0	1	3	0
James Bagly, . . . . .	.34	0	0	1	14	0
Capt. Jeremiah Blanchard, . . . . .	.51	0	0	2	11	0
Isaac Baldwin, . . . . .	.31	0	0	1	11	0
Rufus Baldwin, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
Caleb Bates, Esqr, . . . . .	.34	0	0	1	14	0
James Brown, . . . . .	.41	16	0	2	1	10
Elihu Cary, . . . . .	.36	0	0	1	16	0
Barnabas Cary, . . . . .	.28	0	0	1	8	0
Joseph Cary, . . . . .	.31	0	0	1	11	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Daniel Cash,	31	0	0	1	11	0
John Carr,	27	0	0	1	7	0
George Cooper,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Thos Christy,	42	0	0	2	2	0
Isaac Finch,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Isaiah Halstead,	35	0	0	1	15	0
Richard Halstead,	53	0	0	2	13	0
Levi Hise,	59	0	0	2	19	0
Abraham Harding,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Timothy Howe,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Thomas Hardin,	40	0	0	2	0	0
Eton Jones,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Richard Jones,	33	0	0	1	13	0
Timothy Keyes,	60	10	0	3	0	6
Joseph Leonard,	22	0	0	1	2	0
James Lewis,	29	0	0	1	9	0
Solomon Lee,	18	0	0	0	18	0
Samuel Miller,	55	0	0	2	15	0
James Moors,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Ebenezer Marcy,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Zebulon Marcy,	26	0	0	1	6	0
Alexander Mackey,	45	0	0	2	5	0
James Moore, Jr.,	24	0	0	1	4	0
Francis Phillips,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Timothy Pierce,	23	0	0	1	3	0
Justus Picket,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Thos Picket,	28	0	0	1	8	0
John Ryon,	5	0	0	0	5	0
Elijah Silsby,	26	16	0	1	6	0
Zachariah Squire,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Wm Shay,	33	8	0	1	13	5
John Scott,	56	0	0	2	16	0
Joseph Sprague,	33	0	0	1	13	0
Samuel Slater, Junr,	43	0	0	2	3	0
Daniel St. John,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Ephraim Sanford,	44	0	0	2	4	0
Samuel Slater,	75	16	0	3	15	10
John Stafford,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Willm Stark,	25	0	0	1	5	0
Aaron Stark,	27	0	0	1	7	0
David Sanford,	31	0	0	1	11	0
Isaac Tripp, Esq.,	67	4	0	3	7	3
Job Tripp,	60	0	0	3	0	0
Preserved & John Taylor,	69	0	0	3	9	0
Thos Taylor,	22	0	0	1	2	0
Joseph Thomas,	39	0	0	1	19	0
John White,	21	0	0	1	1	0
Nathl Williams,	8	0	0	0	8	0
Squire Whitaker,	41	0	0	2	1	0
Eleazer West,	41	0	0	2	1	0
Amy Willcox,	23	0	0	1	3	0
William Williams,	34	0	0	1	14	0
Justus Worden,	29	0	0	1	9	0

EXETER DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Joseph Baker . . . . .	.33	0	0	1	13	0
Nathan Bradley, . . . . .	.20	0	0	1	0	0
Manassa Cady, . . . . .	.20	0	0	1	0	0
John Gardner, . . . . .	.26	0	0	1	6	0
Stephen Gardner, . . . . .	.35	0	0	1	15	0
Capt. Stephen Harding, . . . . .	.82	0	0	4	2	0
Stephen Harding, . . . . .	.23	0	0	1	3	0
Samuel Harding, . . . . .	.26	0	0	1	6	0
Peter Harris, Jun ^r . . . . .	.40	0	0	2	0	0
James Headsall, . . . . .	.131	0	0	6	11	0
Justis Jones, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
Thomas Joslin, . . . . .	.19	0	0	0	19	0
John Jenkins, Esq., . . . . .	.123	0	0	6	3	0
Benj ⁿ Jones, . . . . .	.45	10	0	2	5	6
James Linn, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
Samuel Morgan, . . . . .	.31	0	0	1	11	0
James Newton, . . . . .	.18	0	0	0	18	0
William Martin, . . . . .	.57	0	0	2	17	0
Elisha Scovel, . . . . .	.96	0	0	4	16	0
David Smith, . . . . .	.61	0	0	3	1	0
John David Shoemaker, . . . . .	.27	0	0	1	7	0
James Sutton, . . . . .	.25	0	0	1	5	0
Samuel Tozer, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
Richard Tozer, . . . . .	.41	0	0	2	1	0
Christopher Wintimot, . . . . .	.74	0	0	3	14	0
Philip Wintermot, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
John Wintermot, . . . . .	.23	0	0	1	3	0
Richard West, . . . . .	.41	0	0	2	1	0

LACKAWACK DISTRICT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
John Aynsly, . . . . .	.56	0	0	2	15	0
Hezekiah Bingham, . . . . .	.37	0	0	1	17	0
Roger Clark, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
Uriah Chapman, Esq., . . . . .	.56	0	0	2	16	0
James Dye, . . . . .	.22	0	0	1	2	0
Jasper Edward, . . . . .	.45	0	0	2	5	0
Capt. Eliab Farnam, . . . . .	.46	0	0	2	6	0
Nathel Gates, . . . . .	.21	0	0	1	1	0
David Gates, . . . . .	.38	0	0	1	18	0
Jonathan Haskell, . . . . .	.81	0	0	4	1	0
Jacob Kimbol, . . . . .	.86	0	0	4	6	0
Abel Kimbol, . . . . .	.27	0	0	1	7	0
Walter Kimbol, . . . . .	.24	0	0	1	4	0
Zadock Killam, . . . . .	.56	0	0	2	16	0
Moses Killam, . . . . .	.25	0	0	1	5	0
Jepthah Killam, . . . . .	.33	10	0	1	13	6
Ephraim Killam, . . . . .	.32	0	0	1	12	0
John Killam, . . . . .	.43	0	0	2	3	0

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Capt. Zebulon Parrish,	43	0	0	2	3	0
John Pellet, Junr	49	0	0	2	9	0
William Pellet,	35	0	0	1	15	0
Amos Park,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Silas Park, Esq.,	32	0	0	1	12	0
Joel Strong,	28	0	0	1	8	0
Elijah Witter,	45	0	0	2	5	0
Enos Woodward,	38	0	0	1	18	0
Enos Woodward, Junr	27	0	0	1	7	0

"A TRUE LIST OF THE POLLS AND ESTATE OF THE TOWN
OF WESTMORELAND RATABLE BY LAW ON THE 20TH OF
AUG^t A. D. 1780."

	£.	s.		£	s.
Ayres, Saml.,	35	0	Elliot, Joseph,	40	0
Atherton, James,	14	14	Fuller, Capt. Stephen,	85	0
Atherton, James, Jr.,	39	0	Fitch, Jonathan,	41	10
Butler, Col. Zeb ⁿ	72	4	Franklin, John, Esq.,	25	4
Bidlack, Mehitable,	10	0	Fitzgerald, Derrick,	18	0
Bailey, Benj ⁿ	24	0	Fish, Joannah,	8	0
Brookway, Richard,	33	0	Frisbie, James,	33	0
Bullock, Nathan,	28	0	Gore, Lieut. Obad ^h	18	10
Burnham, Asahel,	9	0	Gore, Daniel,	45	10
Bennet, Asa,	51	0	Gore, Widow Hannah,	23	0
Bennet, Isaac,	39	0	Gale, Cornelius,	24	0
Buck, Wm.,	27	0	Gore, Wid ^w Elizabeth,	7	10
Brown, David,	6	0	Holenback, Matthew,	21	0
Bennet, Solomon,	42	0	Hagerman, John	21	0
Bennet, Ishmael,	24	0	Hurlbutt, John, Esq.,	62	0
Blanchard, And ^w	21	0	Hurlbutt, Christ ^r	26	0
Cady, Manasseh,	58	0	Hide, John,	24	15
Corah, Jonathan,	46	4	Harris, Elisha,	21	0
Comstock, John,	26	0	Harding, Henry,	9	0
Comstock, Peleg,	21	0	Hagerman, Jos.	24	0
Cary, Nathan,	35	0	Hopkins, Timothy,	6	0
Cook, Nath ^l	18	0	Inman, Elijah,	36	10
Church, Gideon,	6	0	Inman, Richard,	31	0
Chapman, Asa,	18	0	Ingersol, Daniel,	30	0
Denison, Col. Nathan,	31	0	Jackson, Wm.,	35	0
Durkee, Sarah,	9	0	Jemison, John,	53	10
Denton, Daniel,	5	0	Joslin, Thomas,	21	0

	£	s.		£	s.
Jenkins, Jn ^o	3	0	Spalding, Capt. Simon,	15	4
Jones, Crocker,	29	0	Slocum, Giles,	30	0
McCluer, Tho ^s	4	0	Spencer, Caleb,	54	4
Mateson, Elisha,	6	4	Sanford, David,	31	0
Nelson, Wm.	15	0	Sutton, James,	18	0
Nisbitt, James,	33	0	Saterly, Elisha,	7	4
Neill, Tho ^s	34	0	Smith, John,	10	0
O'Neal, Jn ^o	18	0	Smith, Wm.,	3	0
Park, Tho ^s	18	0	Sill, Jabez,	52	0
Pierce, Phinehas,	5	0	Tillbury, John	47	0
Pell, Josiah,	29	5	Thomas, Joseph,	27	0
Pensyl, Widw Mary,	4	0	Trucks, Wm.,	39	0
Pierce, Widw Hannah,	4	10	Upson, Widw Sarah,	27	0
Ransom, Widw Esther,	19	0	Underwood, Isaac,	21	0
Reed, Tho ^s	18	0	Williams, Wm.,	21	10
Rogers, Jonah,	61	0	Warner, Wm.,	28	0
Ross, Wm.	54	4	William, Nath ^l	8	0
Ross, Widw Marsey,	11	4	Yerington, Abel,	21	0
Ryon, John,	5	10			

OBITUARIES.

BY WESLEY E. WOODRUFF, HISTORIOGRAPHER.

COL. SAMUEL HENRY STURDEVANT.

In the death of Col. Samuel Henry Sturdevant, which occurred at his home on North Washington street, this city, February 24, 1898, Wilkes-Barre lost an honored and a useful citizen. These two adjectives are often used in our speech, and often, let us acknowledge, misapplied. But justly used as they are used here, they convey an epitome of remembrance well worth the while of any man.

Colonel Sturdevant was a native of Braintrim township, Wyoming county, and he was born March 29, 1832. He came of Revolutionary stock, and his great-grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier, from the first echoes of musketry at Lexington. It was here that he entered the Continental Army as orderly sergeant, and he did not leave the army until the British had evacuated New York. The subject of this sketch remained at the public schools of his township until he was thirteen years old; then he entered Wyoming Seminary and took a thorough course there. Then he spent two years, or until 1851, in the lumber business, chiefly operating in the vicinity of Harvey's Lake and with the firm of Hollenback, Urquhart and Sturdevant. In 1853, November 9, he married Leah, daughter of John Urquhart. The children were: John Henry, George Urquhart, Samuel H., Jr., Winthrop Ketcham, Robert, Ellen Urquhart, Florence Slocum and Ruth. Of these Winthrop, Florence and


Ruth are dead, and the beloved wife also preceded her husband to the final rest.

After a few years in business there came to Samuel H. Sturdevant the call of his country, and he did not fail. He was mustered into the United States army August 3, 1861, as commissary of subsistence. A year later he was attached to Slocum's Brigade of the Sixth Army Corps, and he soon afterward became chief commissary of the left grand division of the Army of the Potomac, attached to General Slocum's staff of the Twelfth Corps and with the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1864 he was chief commissary of the Army of Georgia with the rank of colonel. He was mustered out in October, 1865. Colonel Sturdevant saw a great deal of the severest fighting and the hardest general service. He was at the battles of South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and a number of lesser engagements. It often fell to his lot to endure hardships and to pass through great dangers in the discharge of his duty, but those who knew him thoroughly learned to know that he quailed before nothing that had "duty" marked upon it. He was not merely a faithful officer—his soldier life, to use the expression of a veteran who knew, was "lustrous with many brilliant achievements." There are those who do their duty as well as they know how, and there are those who know how. Colonel Sturdevant both knew how and he did it.

This might apply and did apply as well to his business life as to his life as a soldier. After the clash of arms had ceased he returned here to resume "the trivial round—the common task." And his career was destined to last somewhat longer than the allotted tie of one generation, even after the interruption of the war—thirty years and more of hardwork, which he always enjoyed; thirty years and more of success justly won; thirty years of unsullied integrity. There was never a stain upon his honor or his word. His

was one of those rare natures that does not reveal itself at once nor to all alike. To appreciate him one had to know him, and a better knowledge always added to the appreciation. And yet it could scarcely be said that the few had a monopoly of his friendship. He had many friends because he was by nature a friendly man, but the best and rarest qualities of his nature lay deeper. Few of the atmospheres of that sweet word home have ever been sweeter than the atmosphere of his home. The children, loved and loving, went their several ways into the world, but the old home was always their home, the dearer because of their less frequent visits. And sorrow came to it in the death of beloved children and of the wife who was always the queen of his heart. After that blow the days seemed rather to be endured than enjoyed, and yet he always maintained that refined cheerfulness and that sympathy that comes from suffering when the spirit is strong to bear and patient. And as a Christian his life was encompassed about with charity of word, of deed and of thought. He was elected a member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, December, 1896, was a director of the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts Lumber Company, was president of the Harvey's Lake Transit Company, was a member of and for a considerable time chaplain of Wilkes-Barre Lodge of Elks, and a Mason.

His loss is a hard one for the community, the church and the social life to fill, and for the home it is impossible to fill.



CAPTAIN LAZARUS DENISON STEARNS.

Captain L. Denison Stearns, commanding Company B, 9th Regiment Infantry, Pennsylvania Volunteers, 3d Brigade, 3d Division, First U. S. Army Corps, died at his home in Wilkes-Barre, Tuesday morning, September 6th, 1898, at ten minutes past ten, of typhoid fever, while on sick leave. He was a son of Major and Mrs. Irving A. Stearns; was born in Wilkes-Barre December 27th, 1875, and had spent nearly all of his life in his native city. His early education was gained at the Harry Hillman Academy, Wilkes-Barre, and he prepared for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., graduating from Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, in the class of 1896. On coming home he began work at once as a coal inspector for the Susquehanna Coal Company, and afterwards was on the Engineer Corps of the same company. He early was imbued with a strong desire to enter the military service, and had received instructions in military tactics at Yale. He enlisted as a private in Company D, 9th Regiment, National Guard of Pennsylvania, February 4th, 1897, and on the 1st of July of that year was chosen second lieutenant of Company B. The whole division of the National Guard of Pennsylvania having been ordered into camp at Mount Gretna, Pennsylvania, by the Governor, in response to the first call for troops by the President, for the war with Spain, Lieutenant Stearns left Wilkes-Barre with his command April 27th, 1898. On May 4th he volunteered for the war, on the field at Mount Gretna. The captain of his company (Stewart L. Barnes) being disqualified for entering the U. S. service on account of age, Second Lieutenant Stearns was unanimously chosen by the men to command the company, and was mustered into the service of the United States, with his company, at Mount Gretna, on May 11th, 1898. He was the youngest officer of his grade and command in

the First Army Corps, to which his regiment was assigned at Camp George H. Thomas, Chickamauga Park, Georgia, on arriving there May 20th, 1898.

Captain Stearns was by nature a soldier; although trained to peaceful pursuits, the science of tactics was instinctive with him. He came from a line of ancestry, some of whom were distinguished for their military capacity. His great-grandfathers, Elijah Shoemaker and Col. Nathan Denison, were soldiers of the Revolution, and participated in the Wyoming Massacre, the former being killed in that awful struggle. Captain Stearns' paternal grandfather was Judge George W. Stearns, of Ontario county, New York, and his maternal grandfather was Hon. Lazarus D. Shoemaker, of this city.

Captain Stearns was in camp at Chickamauga, Ga., with his regiment until August 14th, when he was called home to attend upon his father, Major Stearns, who was suffering from a pulmonary affection of a serious nature. Typhoid fever was prevalent in the camp at this time, and no doubt the seeds of this dread disease were in his system at the time of his departure for home. He remained at home a few days, and his father improving, he decided to return to Chickamauga, where his regiment was preparing to remove to Lexington, Kentucky. His desire to be with his command when changing station, that he might look after his men, rendered him careless of his own physical condition, and on the 21st of August he departed for the South, arriving at Chickamauga on the 23d. The regiment left Chickamauga Park on the 25th, bivouacking at Rossville, Tennessee, that night, arriving at Lexington, Kentucky, Saturday, August 27th. The fever was upon him, no doubt, before he left Glen Summit, where his family was then staying, but he would not yield to what he thought was a temporary indisposition. A rally, after he arrived at camp, was succeeded by almost a prostration, and on Sunday, August

28th, he was brought home from Lexington, Ky., by Governor Hastings on a hospital train which the Governor had provided to bring the sick of the Pennsylvania regiments from the camps at Chickamauga and Lexington. The hospital train arrived at Wilkes-Barre August 30th, at 10 o'clock A. M., and a week later he lay dead—one of the precious lives sacrificed that there should be no halt in American devotion to the interests of humanity, of progress, human liberty and righteousness. Death claimed many a shining mark as a result of this war with Spain, but none more lustrous than Captain Lazarus Denison Stearns.

As an officer of the regiment he was universally esteemed by the command, and his own men were devoted to him. During his illness here there was a constant train of visitors and a stream of messages asking for news of his condition. His youth, his brilliant future, his fine physical manhood, all seemed to draw sympathy, and the thought that the end might be near was almost too sad to entertain. Lying desperately ill himself, he still thought of some of his stricken companions, and asked after them with much solicitude; that seemed to be a key-note to his character—forgetfulness of self, and thought for others. Universally beloved, it was in the bosom of his own family that he was the devoted son and brother, the thoughtful child, dutiful and sympathetic, and later, as was proved, strong to bear and patient to suffer.

Though just on the threshold of a useful and active manhood, with his college days as a pleasant memory to look back upon, his character was in some respects well matured. He was the soul of honor, and no one ever knew him to do anything mean or small. He had nothing of narrowness in his disposition. He had an innate nobility, which was fostered always by the attrition with men, for he chose good companionship. He had a liberal mind, that frowned not on such amusements as the young people enjoy, but he had


also a well defined power of knowing himself, and of being careful always to use and not abuse recreation and pleasure. All who came in contact with him were impressed by the unmistakable marks of a fine nature, and a nature full of manliness and nobility. These were striking traits, and they manifested themselves when he had scarcely entered upon his teens.

He was industrious and faithful in business just because it was his nature to be faithful and true to whatever he undertook, and his business career, had he been spared, would have been a most creditable and no doubt brilliant one.

Here in his native town he was a great social favorite, and a leader in many of the affairs that go to make up the sum of relaxation and of pleasure in the hours given to such occupation. He was a member of the Country Club, the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society since 1895, and of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution. The qualities that distinguished his bearing among friends were always exemplified in his military routine. He was a strict disciplinarian, though always from the sense of duty, and he always had the well being and the comfort of his men near his heart.

It is remarkable that one so young leaves behind such a maturity of the best traits, both in social and business life. Memory stands tearful and pitying where so short a time ago radiant Hope had seemed to stretch forth her hands. These mysteries of life and death are always present, but always baffling solution.

His was the patriotism of the real kind. He gave up everything that makes life worth living. Others did, of course; but somehow, as Nathan Hale stands out when we recall the Revolution, so does Captain Stearns when we think of the Spanish-American war.



ISAAC LONG.

On the morning of Tuesday, September 13, 1898, Isaac Long, an honored citizen of Wilkes-Barre, passed away suddenly and without warning at his home on South Franklin street.

On Monday evening, the day's work well over, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Long sat together and enjoyed the respite from the cares that infest the day. When the hour of retiring came there was no sign that there was so soon to be a blight upon the household. Before twelve hours had passed Mr. Long lay dead.

His birthplace was Pretzfeld, Bavaria, the year 1833 and the day February 22, a date peculiarly dear to the patriotic American. His parents were Louis and Sarah Long. He came to this country when just entering upon his teens, and here in this city he settled with relatives. For a decade he attended school here, and then in 1857 he went to Philadelphia, where he entered the lace and embroidery business, and later on embarked in the manufacture of umbrellas. In 1874, after an absence from here of seventeen years, he came back again and bought out the carpet and dry goods store of James Sutton on the north side of Public Square. Here he built up a splendid business, and when the Welles Building was finished he took half the first and second floors, and as his room and accommodations grew, so also grew his custom. His establishment came to be one of the best known in the east.

In 1863 and during his residence in Philadelphia he was married to Miss Dora Rosenbaum. She had been a former resident of Wilkes-Barre. She survives with two daughters, Mrs. Charles Gimble, of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Sarah Stern, wife of Harry F. Stern, engaged in the printing and lithographic trade in Philadelphia. Another daughter, now de-

ceased, was the wife of Abram Marks of this city, who is associated with the firm. There were three surviving sisters—Mrs. Isaac Langfeld, who died a few days after his death, and Mrs. Julia Wertheimer, both of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Seligman Burgunder of this city. The only brother of the deceased was Jonas Long, whose name is perpetuated here in the business firm of Jonas Long's Sons.

In the death of Isaac Long this community loses one of its most prominent business figures. Concerning actual years of residence and the position of his establishment in the mercantile world, perhaps it is safe to say that Wilkes-Barre has never had a more representative merchant. Mr. Long was one of the citizens of this city who have added to its reputation abroad and who have made it what it is. His hand had been for long years upon the pulse of trade. He had established a very unusual trade, and had been enabled thereby to prosper and to bring into his life those things that help to make the pathway pleasant, especially so when the younger years are past and gone. But though reaping unusual prosperity himself, he had always been of the kind who shared their prosperity with others. He shared it with the city. He was, at the inception thereof, the president of the Board of Trade, and he held this office for several years thereafter. He gave to the enterprises that promised to add to the prestige and the prosperity of the city. He was one of those first appealed to for any prominent object involving the welfare of this municipality. Thus giving of his time and his interest and his personal effort, he shared his prosperity with the community, and taking this wide horizon of view he really increased his own progress. He shared his prosperity with the less favored. Kind and charitable by instinct, he was always appealed to by the cry of distress, and he was one of the most generous of givers to all the best established local benefices of the city—the Hospital, the Home, and others

—and he gave largely in other ways and in cases of individual need and distress.

He shared his prosperity with his friends. In the elegant home which had become a possession of the past decade he was the spirit of hospitality and good cheer, and here he loved to greet his friends, and here indeed they loved to greet him.

He shared his prosperity with his employees. All of them felt that his interests were theirs too. They were always considerately treated, and when in distress many of them knew and felt how much of a friend he was to them. In the store, when the news came, the feeling of consternation and of heartfelt grief was sad to witness.

He shared his prosperity with public institutions and with individuals, both in the gifts of the pocket and the gifts of the heart. And he was a consistent giver and a constant giver, and better than all, perhaps, when one considers the ill-judged charities that often do more harm than good, Mr. Long was a wise giver.

A man of the finest and noblest of principles always, he had, somehow, as the years advanced upon him, seemed to feel more and more the fellowship and the brotherhood of man. He was always one of the most prominent in any and all good works. He was freely consulted, and his opinions were of weight and influence.

If one should look for the secret of his business success it would very likely be found in the fact that he was a man of unswerving integrity and unerring judgment. In all things it was remarkable about Isaac Long, how he lost sight of the merchant in the man. He was a successful merchant, to be sure, but he was a man beyond all—a man of ideas, of heart, of the broadest intelligence, of the deepest sympathies.

Though not a native of this country, Mr. Long came here at such an early age that his habits, his traits, his na-

ture, were thoroughly American. American achievements he regarded as part of an inherited glory that legitimately belonged to him, and he was proud of his adopted country. No one born on this soil and with American ancestry of long years could have been more thoroughly in sympathy with American institutions than Mr. Long, and he was one of the best products of all that makes up American citizenship. This was exemplified particularly when he returned from his last trip to Europe. He was a keen observer, and he made many observations while away that were worth listening to and thinking over. He was able to see clearly just where we were in advance of Europe, and like the honest man that he was, he did not neglect to note one or two matters wherein we might learn from the standard set abroad. But the preponderance was so much in our favor, he used to say, that he was as glad to get back again as a homesick child.

To sum up the analyses of his gifts and of his character, I am led to think that nothing could be more eloquent than the opinion I have so often heard expressed from many different sources: "It would scarcely be possible to say too much of his splendid manhood and noble character." This expression is the essence of appreciation, and of sincere regret at his loss.

To have lived thus—to have graven his name on the hearts of so many of God's creatures—was not this surely enough to have strived for, even if he had not filled out the allotted three score and ten. It is a result that many thousands seek to accomplish and which many seek in vain. There could be no sweeter picture drawn of the joys of the home than that which might be drawn of this household. The departure of the children, the eldest daughter's death, the marriage of the others—these left gaps in the happy family circle but that drew closer the husband and wife, and together they passed along life's pathway devoted sincerely

each to the other and happy in having each other. Their son in law lived with them, and the three formed a home community of rarest grace. The interruption came without warning. That home circle is broken and there is grief where there was once content and joy. But not only has the home suffered; the city, the community, the friends, the church to which he belonged—all are the poorer for his departure.

Mr. Long was elected a member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society February 8th, 1886.

OTHER MEMBERS LATELY DECEASED:

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AUGUSTUS STOUT VANWICKLE, died June 8, 1898.

LOREN M. LUKE, died October 14, 1898.

H. BAKER HILLMAN, died January 29, 1899.

WILLIAM PENN RYMAN, died July 31, 1899.

MISS RUTH E. RYMAN, died August 18, 1899.

MRS. MARY FRANCES PFOUTS, died November 8, 1899.

CAPT. CALVIN PARSONS, died January 1, 1900.

EDWARD STROUD MORGAN, died March 1, 1900.

CORRESPONDING.

COL. JOHN FRANKLIN MEGINNESS, Williamsport, Pa., died Nov. 11, 1899.

HON. FRANKLIN GEORGE ADAMS, Topeka, Kansas, died 1899.

HONORARY.

CHARLES J. STILLE, LL. D., President Historical Society of Pennsylvania, died August 12, 1899.

REV. EDWIN GRIFFIN PORTER, President New England Historical and Genealogical Society, died February 5, 1900.

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